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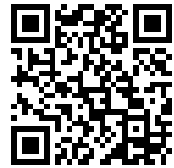

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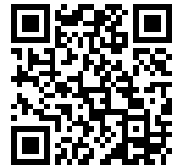

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VALENTINE AND ORSON

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VALENTINE AND ORSON

A Study in Late Medieval Romance

BY

ARTHUR DICKSON

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH
IN THE COLLEGE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

New York
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PREFACE

The aim of the present study, and its relation to previous work, are sufficiently set forth in the pages that follow. There remains here only the pleasant task of acknowledging the assistance which I have received in its preparation.

My chief debt of gratitude is to Professors William Witherle Lawrence and Harry Morgan Ayres of Columbia University, who, through the years during which the book was being written, were never-failing sources of friendly counsel, encouragement, and admonition. If the world be found to be any richer for the publication of *Valentine and Orson*, to these inspiring teachers and faithful friends be a large share of the thanks.

The research upon which the volume is based was done principally in the library of Columbia University, and I wish to thank the Librarian, Mr. Roger Howson, and his staff, for their patient and untiring co-operation. For the privileges gladly accorded me by the New York Public Library, the Boston Public Library, the Detroit Public Library, the Library of Congress, those of Harvard, Yale, and Brown Universities, of the Union Theological Seminary, the American Geographical Society, and the Hispanic Society of America, the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, and the Pierpont Morgan Library, I am equally grateful. Especially am I indebted to Dr. George Watson Cole, formerly of the Huntington Library, for the photostats of the first English *Valentine and Orson*, and to Miss Belle da Costa Greene, of the Morgan Library, for the privilege of consulting the first edition of the French romance.

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Other assistance from individuals on specific points is acknowledged as occasion arises in the text and notes. Among those for whose mention no such place was found, but whose help was nevertheless real, I am happy to record M. Joseph Bédier; Mr. J. P. Gilson, of the British Museum; Professor George L. Hamilton, of Cornell University; Professor Alexander H. Krappe, of the University of Minnesota; Mr. Richard Le Gallienne; Mr. S. R. Littlewood; Professor Roger Sherman Loomis, of Columbia University; Professor Thomas O. Mabbott, of Brown University; Professor Lewis Freeman Mott, of the College of the City of New York; Professor John R. Reinhard, of the University of Michigan; Professor Edith Rickert, of the University of Chicago; Professor Ashley H. Thorndike, and the late Professor Henry A. Todd, of Columbia University; the Rev. Cecil F. Tomlinson, Rector of Bolton Abbey, Skipton, Yorkshire; and Professor Raymond Weeks, of Columbia University.

A. D.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	INTRODUCTION	1
I.	*VALENTIN UND NAMELOS:* PRELIMINARY	8
II.	*VALENTIN UND NAMELOS:* MÄRCHEN AND ROMANCE	28
III.	*VALENTIN UND NAMELOS:* THE QUEEN IN EXILE	60
IV.	*VALENTIN UND NAMELOS:* THE KNIGHT AND HIS WILD BROTHER	97
V.	*VALENTIN ET ORSON:* I	156
VI.	*VALENTIN ET ORSON:* II	217
	ABBREVIATIONS	268
	EDITIONS AND ANALYSES QUOTED	269
	APPENDIX I. Specimens of texts	280
	APPENDIX II. *Valentine and Orson* in English	284
	INDEX	299

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INTRODUCTION

I. Aim of the Study

"And Valentine," said Scrooge, "and his wild brother, Orson; there they go!" — Dickens, *Christmas Carol.*

Most readers of English literature know vaguely of those twin figures of romance which Old Scrooge, on that Christmas Eve when there passed again before him visions from the books of his childhood, identified as "Valentine, and his wild brother, Orson." A product of the dying Middle Ages, their story, put into English by Henry Watson about 1510, found greater and more lasting popularity in England than in France, the land of its birth. Sir Philip Sidney referred to it as to something well known; it was the subject of at least one lost Elizabethan play; "Orson," to the seventeenth century, was almost synonymous with "wild man"; Uncle Toby, no less than Old Scrooge, delighted in the story as a schoolboy; the pantomimic art of Grimaldi made it familiar to the generation of Byron and Hazlitt; Godwin, Southey, De Quincey, Dickens, Browning, and Meredith, are among the writers who make allusion to it. For four centuries, edition has followed edition, to a total of at least seventy-four, the latest in 1919.[1]

If, however, we seek definite information concerning the nature and sources of the story, we are met either with vague statements resting upon casual impressions, or with incidental remarks upon isolated points, which it would be merely confusing to attempt to gather up in one place.

[1] For a list of English versions and allusions, see Appendix II.

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All useful observations by previous writers which a careful search has brought to light will be noted in this study as occasion presents itself. But meanwhile, the fact is that there is no attempt anywhere to treat the sources of the story with any completeness, nor even any modern edition of Watson's unaltered text or of the French original; for both these texts, in common with the few other romance texts which have been continuously printed through the centuries, have undergone successive alterations with each new edition. It is no doubt the rarity of these original texts that has caused *Valentine and Orson*, abounding as it does in interesting versions of the themes of romantic fiction, to be almost entirely neglected by students in that field.

The task of the present study is, therefore, a new one. It is to take the story of Valentine and Orson in its earliest forms; to trace it, as far as possible, to its sources; and to learn in the process all that it has to teach us as to the materials and methods of writers of medieval romance.

A few of the more significant results may here be anticipated. It will be shown that the central story of Valentine and his brother is no "ancient twin-tale," [2] but a normal late development from extant earlier material (Chapters II and IV); the comparison of our romance with Italian epic and legend (*Fioravante*, Chapter III; *Bovo d'Antona*, Chapter IV; the Alexius legend, Chapter VI; cf. p. 266) will indicate a closer dependence of the latter upon French models than has hitherto been recognized; the wealth of romantic material in the story will give occasion for discussion of many common romance motives, which are listed in the Index; and in particular, two bits of medieval lore — the Lady in the Water (Chapter III), and the Brazen Head (Chapter V) — will be for the first time investigated and explained.

[2] J. Rendel Harris, in *Contemporary Review*, CXXVI (1924), 328.

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Where the field of possible sources is so large, I cannot hope to have discovered everything germane to the inquiry. But at least, a conscientious effort has been made to evaluate every element of the complicated story. It is hoped, therefore, that while of course the last word has not been said on any subject here treated, the facts and the views presented will be of value to future workers, and of interest to that growing body of readers who are coming to recognize, in the fiction of the Middle Ages, an instructive chapter in the history of the human mind.

II. Forms Of The Story; Plan Of Action

All English versions of *Valentine and Orson* are directly or indirectly derived from the version by Henry Watson published by Wynkyn de Worde about 1510.[3] This in turn is a close translation of the French prose text *Valentin et Orson* (which I shall hereafter refer to as VO), first printed at Lyons by Jacques Maillet in 1489. There is no MS. of the French text, nor is there any earlier version in French;[4] and all versions of *Valentine and Orson*, in whatever language, are directly or indirectly derived from the French printed text of 1489 (VO).[5]

[3] See Appendix II for information on this and other English versions.

[4] L. Gautier, *Bibliographie des chansons de geste*, Paris, 1897, p. 204. A MS. of *Valentin et Orson* was erroneously said to exist by W. Foerster, *Richars li Biaus*, Halle, 1874, p. 154, and J. Ashton, *Romances of Chivalry*, London, 1890, p. 235; see below, pp. 119 and 251.

[5] There are versions of VO (besides those in French and in English) in German, Dutch, Icelandic, Italian, and Spanish, including dramas by Jakob Ayrer and Lope de Vega. The first French edition is further described in Chapter V. For the other editions in languages other than English, see the British Museum *Catalogue of Printed Books*, and *Supplement;* Klemming, *Namnlös och Valentin* (full title below), pp. viii ff.; Seelmann, *Valentin und Namelos* (full title below), pp. xxv ff.;

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It is known and recognized, however, that the 1489 text is not the earliest form of the story; for there exists, in German and Swedish, and fragmentarily in Dutch, a romance usually called by the name of the MLG. poetical version, *Valentin und Namelos* (VN), of which the Dutch fragments are at least a century older than VO. This romance VN, while differing from VO in so many respects as to be quite clearly not the same, is yet so like the first half of VO as to leave no doubt that the two are closely connected. One summary, indeed, if made sufficiently general, might serve for both the story of VN and that of the first half of VO:

King Pepin's sister is falsely accused, and banished by her husband; she goes into exile, accompanied by a single attendant. Her twin sons are exposed (VN) or lost (VO); one (Namelos, VN; Orson, VO) is carried off by a wild beast (wolf, VN; bear, VO); the other, his birth unknown, is brought up at Pepin's court, and is called Valentin. He is loved by Pepin's daughter, but will not return her love on account of his youth (VN) or unknown birth (VO); her love for him involves him in quarrels with other persons at the court; he distinguishes himself in war against the Saracens. Valentin's brother grows up as a wild man in the forest; Valentin

L. Gautier, *Les épopées françaises*[2], Paris, 1878–92, II, 692 ff., and *Bibliog. des ch. de g.*, pp. 204, 222; G. Kalff, in *Tijdsch. voor nederl. Taal- en Letterk.*, V (1885), 76 ff.; H. Frölicher, *Thüring v. Ringoltingen's "Melusine," Wilhelm Zicly's "Olivier und Artus" und "Valentin und Orsus," und das Berner Cleomades-Fragment mit ihren französischen Quellen verglichen*, Solothurn, 1889; H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. of the British Museum*, London, 1883–93, I, 849, 857; A. Delen, *Iets over de Gesch. van het Poppenspel in Vlaanderen*, Antwerpen, 1916, pp. 24, 34 ff.; P. Heitz and F. Ritter, *Versuch einer Zusammenstellung der deutschen Volksbücher des 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts*, Strassburg, 1924, pp. 195 ff. The Italian version seems unique in that it still circulates in unabbreviated form: G. Leggio, *Istoria dei due valorosissimi fratelli Valentino e Orsone*, Palermo, 1910, 324 pp., 8°, double column, paper, with grotesque woodcuts (copy kindly given me by Professor W. W. Lawrence).

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fights and conquers him; the brothers become companions, and set out to find Valentin's parents. Meanwhile, the banished queen and her attendant have reached the castle of a giant, and remain there. The brothers seek to rescue a maiden who is to be won only by a king's son who has never been suckled by a woman; Valentin's brother wins and marries the maiden. The brothers aid their father in fighting the Saracens (before their recognition, VN; after it, VO). Their birth, their relationship, and their mother's whereabouts, are revealed to them by supernatural means (talking serpent or panther, VN; brazen head, VO) in a castle; Valentin marries the lady of the castle. The brothers then rescue their mother from the giant, and the family is reunited.

Since the romance VN thus corresponds in general outline to the first half of VO, and since it is older than VO, it was suggested by an early editor, G. E. Klemming, that the two romances had a common source — a French verse romance, now lost.[6] That VN had a French source appears certain from its connection with the Charlemagne cycle, its frequent references to a French original (*also ik ût deme walschen las*, MLG. VN, lines 530, 1654, 1738, 2300, 2532), and above all, from the existence in the first half of VO of a variant French version of the same material. That VO cannot be the source of VN is evident of course (if from nothing else) from the priority of the Dutch fragments, VO being clearly a late fifteenth-century product. Klemming's theory then of a lost French original of both has been universally accepted. The lost romance has been given the title of *Valentin et* (*le chevalier*) *Sansnom* (*VS),[7] and has been assigned to the first half of the fourteenth century.[8]

[6] Klemming, *Namnlös och Valentin*, p. vii.

[7] By Seelmann, *Valentin und Namelos*, p. lvii; followed by G. Paris, *Romania*, XXVII (1898), 326.

[8] By G. Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, Strassburg, 1902, II, 1, 792. Gröber's date, though resting upon an erroneous assumption (see note 12), will be confirmed by the results of our source-study.

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The present study will reënforce these general conclusions; and we shall assume from the outset the existence of *VS. It seems in place here, however, to emphasize the fact that VN and VO, despite their common origin, are far from being the same romance; for this matter has not always been clearly understood.[9] Not only are there marked differences in tone and content in the parallel portions, but the second half of VO has no counterpart in VN, at least as the latter has come down to us.[10] VN tells a unified story; VO adds to its version of this story an equal amount of new material, which addition results in a rambling and formless narrative.[11]

What was the nature of the lost *VS? It contained, of course, everything found in *both* VN and VO; in other words, the story in outline as we have just given it. It is equally clear that *VS cannot be assumed, without further proof, to have contained any material *not* found in both romances. That is to say, material found *only* in VN, or *only* in VO, may or may not have been in *VS.[12] In dealing with such ma-

[9] The two romances are confused by G. H. Gerould, in *PMLA*, XIX (1904), 438; D. Scheludko, in *ZRP*, XLII (1922), 474; L. A. Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England*, New York, 1924, p. 55, n. 8; Heitz and Ritter, *Versuch einer Zusammenstellung*, p. 197. The confusion no doubt results from the fact that Seelmann prefixed to his edition of VN an analysis, not of VN, but of VO.

[10] It is true, however, that certain portions of VN, now lost, paralleled somewhat a portion of the second half of VO; see episodes 17, 20, and 22 in the analysis below, and discussion in Chapter IV.

[11] This second half, in fact, is omitted in the Percy MS. ballad, in the late seventeenth-century chap-book abridgment, and in other later versions; so that, to us moderns, the name *Valentine and Orson* suggests (if anything) a story of exactly the simple type outlined above.

[12] Gaston Paris was therefore somewhat hasty when he inferred (*l. c.*), from the presence of Pacolet's horse in VO, that *VS contained this borrowing from *Cléomadès;* for Pacolet's horse does not appear in VN. The error is repeated by Gröber, *l. c.*, and after Gröber by H. S. V. Jones, in *JEGP*, VI (1907), 224.

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terial, we shall not in general concern ourselves with the hopeless task of trying to discover whether or not it formed part of the lost original. But, in dealing with the material that is common to both romances, we shall find that, in nearly every case, VN is closer to the sources than is VO; we know, also, that VN is older, and tells a simpler and more unified story; and we shall find that some of the material peculiar to VO can have come only from fifteenth-century sources. It therefore seems reasonable to assume, at least as a working hypothesis, that VN represents pretty closely the lost original.[13]

We shall, accordingly, first, in Chapters I–IV, give separate and careful study to the romance VN, assuming that it represents approximately the original story, as written in French in the first half of the fourteenth century. Next we shall turn, in Chapters V–VI, to VO, which we shall treat as a fifteenth-century reworking of the story found in VN. These assumptions as to the relations of the two romances will in no way impair the validity of our results, as we seek in earlier or contemporary fiction the sources of the stories which, by whatever route, have come to form part of the texts we possess.

[13] So Klemming, p. vii, and Seelmann, pp. ix, liii. Kalff, on the other hand (*Gesch. der nederl. Letterk.*, Groningen, 1906, I, 338 ff.), groups the Dutch VN with other Dutch romances which are independent versions rather than translations, having in common with the French versions of their material "little more than a few of the names and principal events." While this last may be strictly true, there is no ground for believing that the extant "French version of the material" — that is, the romance VO — represents the original of the Dutch version.

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CHAPTER I

VALENTIN UND NAMELOS: PRELIMINARY

I. Versions and Editions

The romance *Valentin und Namelos* exists in the following forms:[1]

(1) Middle Low German verse: a poem of 2646 lines in romance couplet, found in two MSS.: MS. 102 c of the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek at Hamburg (H),[2] a quarto paper MS. of the fifteenth century called "Das Hartebok" and containing several MLG. poems, our poem, entitled "Van Nameloss vnde Valentyn," occupying folios 33–75 v;[3] and MS. Vu 73 of the Kungliga Bibliotek at Stockholm (S), a quarto paper MS. of the last quarter of the fifteenth century, containing likewise several MLG. poems, our poem being entitled "Valentines Bok."[4] I find no conjecture definitely made as to the date of com-

[1] For information concerning the MSS., I am indebted to the kind communications of the authorities of the various libraries, as follows: Dr. Herman Degering, Berlin; Dr. Max Hippe, Breslau; Miss Ellen Jörgensen, Copenhagen; Dr. Charles van den Haute and Dr. Paul Bergmans, Ghent; Dr. Fritz Burg, Hamburg; and Dr. Einar Lundström, Stockholm.

[2] The abbreviations are those used by Seelmann (edition cited below, pp. x ff.).

[3] *Philologica Hamburgensia*, Hamburg, 1905, p. 19.

[4] C. Borchling, *Mnd. Hss. in Skandinavien, etc.* (*Nachrichten von der Kgl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Beiheft*, 1900), p. 108.

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position, but the critical discussion appears to assume a date in the first half of the fifteenth century.

(2) Old Swedish (Sw): largely, if not entirely, in metrical form;[5] found in MSS. Cod. Holm. D 3, D 4a, and K 45 of the Kungliga Bibliotek at Stockholm;[6] these MSS. are all of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, and the text is generally believed to have been translated from the MLG. towards the end of the fifteenth century.[7]

(3) Middle High German prose: MS. R 304 of the Stadtbibliothek at Breslau (B); the MS. is dated 1465, and our romance occupies folios 13–38b.

Besides these three complete versions, there are two fragmentary versions:

(4) Middle High German verse-fragment of fifty-two lines, discovered by R. Nyerup in the Kongelige Bibliotek at Copenhagen (K), but not registered; corresponded to lines 1204–67 of the MLG. text.

(5) Middle Dutch verse-fragments. There are three of these, known as N I, N II, and N III, respectively. N I and N II consist each of a leaf, apparently both from the same MS., in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek at Berlin (MS. Germ. Fol. 751, bl. 15–20).[8] Each leaf contained originally 176 lines, but, the leaves having formed part of bookbindings, the first half of N II is only partly legible. The fragments correspond respectively to lines 1480–1552 and

[5] Cf. F. Karg, "Die altschwedische Erzählung von Valentin und Namelos," *Festschrift Eugen Mogk*, Halle, 1924, pp. 197 ff.

[6] E. Noreen, *Hertig Fredrik av Normandie*, Stockholm, 1927 (*Samlingar utgivna av Svenska Fornskriftsällskapet*, Häft 163), p. vi.

[7] H. Schück, in H. Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, Strassburg, 1891–1900, II, 935. More recently, Karg, in the article cited above (note 5), has attempted to make out a case for the priority of the Swedish version; cf. note 11.

[8] H. Degering, *Kurzes Verzeichnis der germanischen Hss. der Preuss. Staatsbibl.*, Berlin, 1925 (*Mitteilungen aus der P.S.*, VII), p. 103.

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2497–2574 of the MLG. text. N III, belonging to another MS., is in the University Library at Ghent (MS. 2749, no. 9); it consists of two leaves, containing 395 lines, only partly legible, corresponding to lines 2411–49 of the MLG. text. Fragments N I and N II have been assigned to the second half, and fragment N III to the middle, of the fourteenth century.[9]

The principal editions are:

Klemming, G. E.: *Namnlös och Valentin, en Medeltidsroman. (Namelos und Valentin.) Efter gamla handskrifter utgifven. (Svenska Fornskrift-Sällskapet, Samlingar, Del III, Häft 1.)* Stockholm, 1846. — This is the only edition of the Swedish text; it contains also the MLG. text from MS. S, and a short introduction.

Seelmann, W.: *Valentin und Namelos. Die niederdeutsche Dichtung. Die hochdeutsche Prosa. Die Bruchstücke der mittelniederländischen Dichtung. Nebst Einleitung, Bibliographie, und Analyse des Romans Valentin et Orson. (Niederdeutsche Denkmäler, herausgegeben vom Verein für niederdeutsche Sprachforschung, Band IV.)* Norden und Leipzig, 1884. — Contains the MLG. text from both MSS., the MHG. prose, fragments K, N I, and N II, and selections from the Swedish. The introduction treats thoroughly all questions except that of sources, and gives in addition much material on VO, including the most complete list of editions. I shall quote the MLG. text from this edition.

Kalff, G.: *Middelnederlandsche epische fragmenten.* Groningen, 1885. — Fragments N I and N II are reprinted on pages 204–20, with an introductory note.

de Vreese, W.: "Een nieuw fragment van Valentijn en Nameloos," in *Tijdschrift voor nederlandsche Taal- en Letterkunde*, XI (1892), 140–62. — Fragment N III is here printed for the first time.

[9] Kalff, *Fragmenten*, p. 208; de Vreese, in *Tijds.*, XI, 140.

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These four publications comprise a complete set of the most recent editions of all the versions.[10]

Since our concern is only with the sources of the story, we shall not attempt to examine all the evidence bearing on the problem of the relationship of the five versions.[11] For

[10] Seelmann's edition was reviewed by Franck, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, V (1884), 1914; E. Schröder, *Anzeiger für deutsches Alterthum*, XI (1885), 116 ff. (cf. Seelmann, in *Jahrb. des Vereins für nd. Sprachforschung*, X, 1884, p. 160); and R. Sprenger, *Literaturblatt für germ. u. rom. Philol.*, VI (1885), 9 ff. The earlier editions are:

Staphorst, N.: *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, Hamburg, 1731, I, 4, pp. 231–63. — The MLG. text, from MS. H.

Nyerup, R.: in *Deutsches Museum*, 1784, II, 91–93. — The first print of fragment K. Nyerup's text is reproduced by Seelmann, the MS. not having been registered by Nyerup, and not having been seen since his time (Seelmann, pp. xi, 132).

Hoffmann von Fallersleben, H.: in M. Haupt and H. Hoffmann, *Altdeutsche Blätter*, I, Leipzig, 1836, pp. 204–10. — Hoffmann first described N I and N II, and printed a portion of the latter, with the corresponding portion of Staphorst's MLG. text.

Selections, totalling 166 lines, from the MLG. text, were given in K. Goedeke, *Deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter, zweite Ausgabe, vermehrt um Buch XII: Niederdeutsche Dichtung von H. Oesterley*, Dresden, 1871, XII, 33; and the first 241 lines were reprinted by W. Stammler, *Mnd. Lesebuch*, Hamburg, 1921, no. 52, with an excellent bibliographical note.

[11] The older view, that N is the source of all the other versions, seems to have found no supporters later than Gervinus (*Gesch. der deutschen Dichtung*[5], Leipzig, 1871, II, 210) and Koberstein (*Gesch. der deutschen Nationallit.*[5], Leipzig, 1872, I, 301). Seelmann's argument (pp. xxiii ff.) for a direct use of the French by the MLG. poet was accepted by Kalff (*Fragmenten*, pp. 208, 211) and Jellinghaus (Paul's *Grundriss*, II, 378). The theory of a lost Dutch original for the MLG. was put forward by Sprenger (*Literaturblatt*, VI, 9 ff.) and developed by J. te Winkel (*Gesch. der nederl. Letterk.*, Haarlem, 1887, I, 209, and in *Tijdschr.*, XI, 229 ff.); the latter argument is convincing, and appears to be accepted by Kalff in his most recent notice of the romance (*Gesch. der nederl. Letterk.*, 1906, I, 348); Kalff here points to a parallel between the Dutch VN and the Dutch *Malegijs* (see below, p. 133),

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our purpose, it is sufficient to note that all the versions, except the Dutch, tell practically the same story in much the same way; the few variations being of very minor importance. The Dutch version, on the other hand, appears to stand by itself; it is the oldest, it was much the fullest in method of treatment (as is evident from the scale of the fragments),[12] and it contains episodes not found in the other versions. In spite of these differences, however, our study will make it clear that the versions other than the Dutch tell the same story as the Dutch, but in a much abbreviated form; certain omissions and discrepancies in the shorter versions being explicable through reference to the Dutch fragments. For the rest, while we shall leave entirely out of account any linguistic evidence, our study will tend to confirm the views as to the relationship of the versions which have been set forth by te Winkel: namely, that all the versions other than the Dutch have come down to us through the medium of a Dutch version which was not the extant one — the MHG. prose, in particular, being derived from this lost Dutch version, independently of the MLG. verse; all versions, of course, being derived ultimately from the lost French.[13]

and since the parallel is valid also to the other versions of VN, it seems that Kalff accepts the view that these other versions have come through the Dutch, else the parallel would have no significance. K. Beta (*Untersuchungen zur Metrik des mnd. V. und N.*, Borna-Leipzig, 1907, pp. 2 ff.) briefly reënforces Seelmann's argument, apparently without knowledge of the article by te Winkel. Karg's attempt to prove the Swedish version the original of the MLG. (cf. note 7) seems to me to rest largely upon arguments that cut both ways; in any event, he does not go beyond the particular question of the relationship of these two versions, into the larger question of the common source of both.

[12] Seelmann, p. xii; te Winkel, *Tijdschr.*, XI, 229 ff.

[13] For a summary of the results of the study as bearing upon the relationships of the versions, see p. 155.

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In brief, then, all versions tell the same story, but all, except the fragmentary Dutch version, tell that story in abbreviated form. The detailed account of the story which follows is therefore based primarily upon the MLG. poem (to which references are given by line-numbers); but the few notable variations of the other versions are indicated, including the episodes contained only in the Dutch; and certain episodes missing in all versions, but which will be reconstituted from a study of the Dutch fragments, are added in italics. Portions of the story having no parallel in VO are, for convenience of comparison, enclosed within brackets; and, for the other portions, references are added to the chapters of the 1489 text, which is analysed in Chapters V and VI. Finally, references are given to the chapters of our text (II, III, and IV) in which the several episodes are discussed from our special point of view — that of source-study.

II. Analysis of Valentin und Namelos[14]

1. *The Marriage.* — Crisostomus, King of Hungary, sends ambassadors to the court of King Pipping of France, asking for the hand of Pipping's sister, Phila. Pipping agrees to the proposal, and the ambassadors return with an invitation to Crisostomus to come to France for the wedding.

All rejoice at the news, except the king's mother (who is never named). Crisostomus gathers his vassals and announces his intention of proceeding to France with them. But Bishop Frankhart expresses unwillingness to go, and maintains that Pipping and Phila should have come to Hungary; the king's mother says likewise. Crisostomus replies in anger, "He who will not come may stay at home, but I will pay him back when I return"; whereupon Frank-

[14] Previous analyses are: A. Geffroy, *Notices et extraits des mss. concernant l'hist. ou la litt. de la France qui sont conservés dans les bibliothèques ou archives de Suède, Danemark et Norvège*, Paris, 1855, pp. 53–66, based upon the Swedish text only; and Kalff, *Fragmenten*, pp. 205–8. There is no analysis of VN in Seelmann's edition.

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hart explains that he was only joking, that he and the king's mother will go gladly.

So Crisostomus and his train journey to France, where they are well received, and the marriage takes place. All remain at the French court for a year (1–106). — Ch. II; VO, ch. 1.

[2. *The Prediction.* — Phila being now pregnant, the king commands the astronomers to consult the stars as to the fate of her offspring. A master sees one evening in the stars that Phila is to bear twin sons who shall bring wonders to pass and shall be of great strength (107–20). — Ch. II.]

3. *The Conspiracy.* — On hearing this, Frankhart and the king's mother are enraged, and plot how they may destroy the children. It is agreed that when the children are born, a maidservant shall take and drown them (121–36). — Ch. II; VO, ch. 2.

4. *The Birth, Exposure, and Finding of Valentin and Namelos.* — Phila bears twin sons; no one is by but the wicked mother-in-law and her unwilling accomplice, the maidservant Philomin. The latter, obeying the commands of the king's mother, takes the children; but instead of drowning them, she places one in a box (*schrîn*) which she throws into the river (*dike*), and the other under a tree (*vor einen busch*) in the forest. The latter child is found, carried off, and suckled, by a she-wolf. Philomin returns and reports to the king's mother that the children have been drowned; Phila all this while lies unconscious, knowing nothing of what has occurred (137–92).

Two days later, the child in the box is found, floating on the river, by Pipping's daughter, Clarina; she carries it secretly to her room, and her chamberlain feeds it on goat's milk; Clarina sees a cross between its shoulders, which proves that it is of good birth (239–66). — Chs. II, IV; VO, ch. 5.

5. *The Accusation and Banishment of Phila.* — Meanwhile, Crisostomus goes with his mother to visit his wife. The children are missing, Phila can give no account of them, and the king's mother asserts that Phila, like a lioness, has murdered her offspring. Pipping, consulted, declares that justice must be done; Frankhart supports the accusation (193–238).

Phila is brought to judgment, and a fire is built. Frankhart exhorts her to confess to him; she protests her innocence, but he pretends that she has confessed her guilt; enraged, she bites off his nose. Pipping advises that she be burnt, and rides off into the city. But a young knight, Blandemer, reproves Frankhart, and

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upholds Phila's innocence, although his father, Duke Baldewin (Gawyn, B; Seivaen, N III),[15] warns him not to meddle. Finally, the lords take counsel. Baldewin asserts that it would be a disgrace to all if the queen were burnt, and advises that she and Blandemer be banished together. So it is determined, and Phila and Blandemer ride off into exile (267–368). — Ch. II; VO, ch. 3.

[6. *The Temptation.* — They come at nightfall to a pavilion by a river, where they find food and a bed; but when Phila calls on God and makes the sign of the cross, the devil appears and breaks everything to pieces; he intended to have put them both to shame, but had no power to do so, for they were both well-advised, and Blandemer was loyal to the lady (369–416). — Ch. III.]

[7. *The Rescue of Lyca.* — Next day, they travel on, and Blandemer rescues the damsel Lyca (named only in N I)[16] from the Black Knight, who is carrying her off by force (417–504). — Ch. III.]

[8. *The False Palmer.* — The three then meet a pilgrim by the wayside, who shares with them his meal. But, on learning that Blandemer has slain the Black Knight, the supposed pilgrim, in revenge, gives all three a sleeping-draught, and carries off Blandemer to the Black Knight's castle, where he remains in a dungeon, with other prisoners, for thirteen years. Meanwhile, the traitor returns for the ladies, but finds that they have fled, having been awakened by a leopard. They proceed to the court of Lyca's father (Saluber, N I),[16] the King of Araby, and there Phila remains for twelve years (505–658). — Ch. III.]

9. *Valentin at Pipping's Court.* — Clarina gives the name Valen-

[15] Fragment N III is not parallel to this episode, but Blandemer there mentions the name of his father. Professor A. J. Barnouw has kindly pointed out to me that the *Seivaen* of N III looks very much like a corruption of *Gaevein* (the long *s* and the *g* being similar, and the diphthongs transposed). On the other hand, *Seivaen* rhymes with *gedaen* (N III, 149). If, therefore, there has been alteration, we must assume that B (which has *Gawyn*) and N are derived independently from a single source containing the name in the form *Gaevein* or something similar, altered in N to *Seivaen* but retained in the common source of B and the MLG. This relation agrees with what is indicated by other considerations (see p. 155).

[16] The fragment N I, which alone gives the names Lyca and Saluber, is parallel, not to this episode, but to a later one.

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tin to the child she has found, and rears him secretly. At the age of twelve, he is extraordinarily brave and handsome. Clarina declares her love to him; he advises her to set her thoughts on someone else, for he has not yet done any deeds of valor. The chamberlain, standing by, objects to Clarina's kissing the "foundling." Valentin, angered, strikes off the chamberlain's head with his bare hand, and kills four others who try to seize him. He is eventually overcome and imprisoned. The king is angry with Valentin, but Clarina intercedes for him, saying that his father is a king in Portugal.

The King of Spain now sends for help against the Saracens. Pipping and his host go to Seville and fight them, but with poor success. Pipping sends to Clarina for reënforcements, which she gathers. On Valentin's asking to be allowed to go, she arms and knights him, and makes him leader of the expedition. Through the valor of Valentin, the Saracens are put to flight; their king (Tzimarin, H; Lyamin, S; Samarin, Sw) is captured by Valentin, and agrees to repair the damage done, and to make war no more. As a reward, Valentin asks and obtains pardon for the killing of the chamberlain. All return home, and Clarina receives Valentin with marks of favor (667–1053). — Ch. IV; VO, chs. 10, 11, 14.

10. *Namelos the Wild Man.* — Next day, the king, hunting in the forest, pursues a wild man, who is Valentin's brother. The wild man wounds the king with his claws, and puts him to flight. Valentin goes to the forest and fights with the wild man, who at last surrenders to him through the "force of nature," and is brought into court. He is called Namelos, and Valentin sees to it that he is bathed, that the long hair covering his body is shaved off, that he is given proper clothing, and that he is taught to walk, and to behave correctly, although he is still unable to speak. There is a cross between his shoulders. (While out walking with Valentin, Namelos lifts easily a wooden beam which fifty men were striving in vain to move; *in version B only.*) Valentin then has a club of brass made for Namelos, who receives it joyfully (1054–1235). — Ch. IV; VO, chs. 10–13.

11. *The Brothers Leave Pipping's Court.* — Valentin now determines to leave court and seek his father and mother, with Namelos as companion. They bid farewell to Clarina, who attempts in vain to dissuade Valentin from leaving by offering to be his wife. She gives them a flask of wound-healing liquor (1236–81). — Chs. II, IV; VO, ch. 16.

12. *The Rescue of Blandemer.* — The brothers ride off, and a

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shepherd directs them to the castle of the "traitors" (episode 8). Some of the latter offer them the sleeping-draught, but, instead of accepting the draught, they kill the traitors. Those in the castle now release Blandemer from his dungeon in order that he may fight the strangers. Blandemer undertakes the combat unwillingly; taunted by Valentin, he reveals the true situation. The three join forces, Valentin and Namelos pretend to surrender, and the three thus gain entrance to the castle, kill the remaining traitors, release the prisoners, burn the castle, and travel on (1282–1479). — Ch. III; VO, ch. 19 (altered).

13. *The First Rescue of Phila.* — At the court of the King of Araby is a traitorous steward, Gawin (Glutes, N I), who loves Phila (659–66), but, (*fragment N I begins here*) despairing of winning her love (repulsed by her, N I), tries instead to bring about her death. To this end he kills the king's daughter Lyca as she sleeps, and puts the knife into the hand of Phila, who is sleeping beside her. He then wakens the king, pretends that he has had a bad dream about Lyca, and suggests that they go and see whether all is well. (Instead, the king himself actually has a bad dream, N I.) The murder is thus discovered, and Phila is accused and brought to judgment (*fragment N I breaks off*); a fire is built, and she is condemned to be burnt.

Meanwhile, Blandemer, seeking his lady, has led Valentin and Namelos to the court of Araby. The three come riding by, Blandemer recognizes Phila, and Valentin, urged by the "force of nature," offers to fight as her champion. This is agreed to, after an attack upon the three heroes by the king's men has been repulsed with great slaughter. Namelos and Blandemer are shut up in a tower, lest they should interfere with the combat. Valentin vanquishes the traitor Gawin; but the latter's friends, who have been watching in ambush, rush in and attack Valentin. Namelos, seeing this, breaks down the door of the tower, and he and Blandemer come to Valentin's assistance. A general mêlée ensues, in which the three heroes do so valiantly that at last the king begs them to have mercy. Gawin, after confessing his treason, is dragged through the streets and boiled in pitch, sulphur and wax. (The king thanks Blandemer for having rescued his daughter (episode 7), and remarks that, had she lived, Blandemer should have married her; *in version B only.*) Despite the king's entreaties, all four of the principal characters then leave court; at a cross-roads, they separate, Phila and Blandemer going one way, Valentin and Name-

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los another (1480–1785). — Chs. III, IV; VO, chs. 33, 34 (much altered).

14. *Giant Magros.* — Phila and Blandemer reach the castle of giant Magros (Madageer, N III),[17] who seizes and imprisons them, explaining at the same time his reasons for so doing. He is in love with a maiden, who, however, does not care for him, and, because she possesses a "serpentelin," he cannot take her by force. Hence he is determined to make things unpleasant for everybody. All knights who fall into his hands are imprisoned, and all ladies are obliged to undergo the "torture of the river," which consists in sitting in a river daily from morning to noon; when this daily task is done, the giant and his guests of both sexes dine together. At one of these noonday gatherings, the giant remarks on Phila's lack of appetite, attributes it to her being in love, and again alludes to his own hopeless passion. Phila replies with words of sympathy, which cause the giant great joy, and, as a reward, he excuses the lady from the torture three days per week. Thus matters stand for a year (1786–1886). — Ch. III; VO, ch. 6 (much altered).

15. *The First Rescue of Rosemund.* — Valentin and Namelos come to a green wood, where birds sing sweetly. A maiden is sitting under a tree; she warns them of the giant,[18] who has slain many men there. She herself has sat there for nine years, less a month; after one month more, the giant will marry her. But it has been prophesied that she shall be avenged by a king's son who is dumb, and has never drunk woman's milk. The giant appears, and attacks Valentin; Namelos interposes; in the ensuing combat, Valentin is wounded, and Namelos kills the giant with his club and his claws. Valentin is restored by Clarina's wound-healing drink. Namelos kisses the maiden, whose name is Rosemund; she gives him a ring which will make him invisible; he leads her aside, lays her on the grass, and *spelde dat ere wille was, allent wes em duchte gût.* Rosemund then invites the brothers to visit her father, a duke of the Greeks (*so* H, Sw; of Carinthia, S); he will, however (she warns them), be angry that the giant is slain. Valentin and Namelos are in fact attacked, as they approach, by the duke's men; Namelos,

[17] The fragment parallels part of episode 19.

[18] This giant is brother to the giant of episode 14, according to version B; this is undoubtedly a trait of the original story, inasmuch as the corresponding characters (Ferragu and the Green Knight) are brothers in VO.

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using his ring and club, strikes down his adversaries. The duke at last asks his daughter to make peace; she does so; and Namelos and Rosemund are "given in the hand" by a priest (1887–2050). — Ch. IV; VO, chs. 15, 19, 20.

16. *The Brothers Aid Their Father against the Saracens.* — Three weeks later, Valentin continues his journey in search of his parents, and Namelos insists on accompanying him. They reach Hungary, and aid King Crisostomus against the heathen; Namelos, invisible, does great slaughter with his club; the Emperor of Tartarie (*so* H; Katarie, S; Taterin, Sw) is taken, and the Saracens flee. Frankhart objects to the honor paid to the strangers, and is chastised by Namelos. He then attempts to persuade the heathen Emperor to join him in a plan of revenge; but the Emperor refuses, pays a ransom, makes peace, and goes home. Valentin and Namelos take leave of the king and continue their journey (2051–2228). — Ch. II; VO, chs. 28, 29, 32.

17. *The Abduction of Rosemund. — Rosemund and her child are carried off. — This episode, missing in the romance as we have it, formed part of the Dutch version, being alluded to in fragment N III; it came either in this place or immediately after episode 18.* — Ch. IV; VO, ch. 30.

18. *The Revelation of Identity.* — The brothers, continuing their journey, meet a serpent (*serpentelin*, HS; panther, Sw), which promises to tell Valentin who his parents are, if he will follow; they do so. The serpent enters "the castle" and reveals to "the maiden" Rosilia (Rosaliliae, Sw; Dalfubie?, N II; Dalfadiane, N III) [19] who they are, where their mother is, and how Namelos may be made to speak by cutting a vein under his tongue. The serpent says further, that if Valentin and Rosilia love each other, its life is at an end. The brothers have by this time reached the castle, and been admitted; Valentin and Rosilia immediately fall in love, and the serpent bursts asunder like an egg. (Instead, Rosilia [20] shuts it up in a room, B.) After exacting a promise of marriage, Rosilia reveals what the serpent has told her, to the joy of the brothers. Namelos' tongue is cut, so that he can now speak. Rosilia points out that Phila must now be rescued from giant

[19] This maiden is presumably the one loved by giant Magros (episode 14), but the identification is not made in the texts.

[20] The maiden is not named in B, nor indeed in the MLG. until later.

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Magros, and reveals that the latter has a ring on his finger, wherein resides all his strength (2229–2366). — Ch. II; VO, ch. 23.

19. *The Second Rescue of Phila and Blandemer.* — The brothers proceed to the river in which their mother is sitting; they reveal themselves, and invite her to come out of the water. She, however, warns them against the giant, who now appears, and a combat ensues (*fragment N III* [21] *begins here*). Namelos, using his ring and club, finally succeeds in striking off the giant's arm, thus depriving him of his magic ring; he then kills the giant with a blow on the head from the club. There is a joyful reunion of mother and children; the captives, including Blandemer, are released; and the four return to the castle of Dalfadiane-Rosilia (2367–2449). — Chs. II, III, IV; VO, ch. 25.

20. *Namelos and a Second Woman.* — (Namelos makes a slighting remark about women, and is reproached by Dalfadiane, and reminded that he is neglecting his duty to rescue Rosemund. He acknowledges the justice of the rebuke, and resolves to go to the rescue of his wife. Phila makes him a knight, Dalfadiane gives him a horse, and he sets out alone for Samanien. — *All in fragment N III only; N III here breaks off.*) *The rest of the episode is missing in all texts.* — Ch. IV; VO, ch. 62.

21. *Reunion, Punishment of the Villain, Marriages.* — Valentin marries Rosilia. *Namelos returns unsuccessful from his expedition to rescue Rosemund; missing in all texts.* All then go to Hungary and reveal the situation to Crisostomus (who is about to marry a second wife, Bliademee, N III). Frankhart is tried and put to death. Valentin, Namelos, Blandemer and Rosilia proceed to France, and tell the news to Pipping. (Pipping is dead; Clarina realizes that she cannot marry Valentin, since he is her cousin; *in version B only.*) Blandemer marries Clarina, and later is king of Spain (France, B), while Valentin later succeeded his uncle as king of France (succeeded his father, B) (2450–2532). — Chs. II, IV; VO, chs. 9, 32.

22. *The Second Rescue of Rosemund.* — *Rescue and rescuer are missing in all texts.* — Ch. IV; VO, ch. 61.

[23. *Reunion of Namelos and Rosemund.* — Rosemund, resolving to seek her husband Namelos, disguises herself as a minstrel, and, with a single attendant (Issabele, N II), travels to the French

[21] So called because the third to be discovered; it comes second in story-order.

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court. (*Fragment N II begins here;* Namelos vehemently rejects some advice given him by Pippiin's daughter, and protests his loyalty to Rosemund; *in N II only.*) On her arrival, Rosemund objects to Namelos' attentions to Issabele. (*N II breaks off.*) Rosemund sings a song dealing with her past history, and ends by revealing herself, to the delight of Namelos (there is no disguise, but Rosemund comes with a large retinue, B); they rule Hungary after the death of Crisostomus (they rule Rosemund's unnamed realm, B) (2533–2646). — Ch. IV.]

III. Classification of the Episodes

The obvious point of departure for our discussion of the sources of the VN story is the only extant treatment of the subject as a whole, which is that of Seelmann, in his edition, pp. lvi-lx.

Seelmann first pointed out certain omissions and inconsistencies in the story as we have it. Clarina and Valentin are in love, but each marries somebody else. The mother-in-law seeks the queen's life, without any clear motive for doing so. Blandemer and Phila are tempted by the devil, but the idea is not followed out. Rosemund seeks Namelos in minstrel disguise, but we do not learn that Namelos has forgotten her, nor why he has done so, nor why she chooses this disguise.[22]

These and like inconsistencies, said Seelmann, may perhaps be due to abbreviation by the MLG. adapter (and that they are due to abbreviation, whether by the MLG. adapter or by another, has since been made abundantly evident by the discovery of fragment N III). On the other hand, most of these disturbing episodes might be cut out, leaving a simple story, which might correspond to the French poet's first draft, or might have been found by him in an earlier source

[22] Episodes 17, 20, and 22, which I have reconstructed from hints in fragment N III, supply answers to some of these questions; but the fragment was not discovered until after Seelmann wrote.

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or in oral tradition, and elaborated into the poem of *VS. Such a process is known to have been followed in the case of other poems. The figure of the wild man belongs to the oldest elements of the poem; the story grew from this kernel — the wild man, conquered and tamed by his brother. As the old poetry required kings' sons or nobles for its heroes, the beginning of the story was determined; the end must naturally be reunion of parents and children. This simple form of the story may be considered as the first stage of the development. The nature of this simple story, and certain features in it, seem to indicate that it contains an old traditional märchen, which was amplified and remodeled by a poet acquainted with chivalric romance, perhaps a northern French minstrel; though the remodeling did not obliterate all of the old features. This poet also gave to the story its superficial connection with Carolingian romance.

Seelmann proceeds to support his view by pointing out, first, that his assumed original form of the story contains märchen features, but is free from specifically romantic traits; and second, that on the other hand the amplified story, and especially the episodes, have their analogues and sources in Old French chivalric romance. The parallels which he cites are not offered as a complete treatment of sources, but are intended merely as illustrations of the general thesis, and will therefore be reserved for separate examination later. I direct attention for the moment to Seelmann's main thesis — that VN is essentially a märchen, made over into a romance.

But, if VN is essentially a märchen, what märchen is it? Seelmann suggests, as central figure of the märchen, the wild man; but the story of VN has little if any resemblance to any märchen of which a wild man is central figure. A better clue is furnished by Seelmann, though unwittingly. He points out two features — the wicked mother-in-law, and the birthmark — which the VN story has in common with

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Straparola's third story of the fourth *Night*, and with the Grimm märchen no. 96, *De drei Vügelkens*.[23] Following up this clue, I have made a detailed comparison of VN with the Jealous Sisters märchen,[24] of which both the stories referred to by Seelmann are variants, and have discovered, not merely further points of agreement, but what I take to be an essential identity of plot. The main source of VN, I believe, is a märchen of the Jealous Sisters type.

As a representative form of the Jealous Sisters märchen we may take the story as it appears in Straparola, *notte* 4, *favola* 3.[25] The märchen is very widespread, and there is much variation in details; but Straparola's version is the oldest recorded in Europe, and is as typical as any:

The three daughters of a baker are talking together. The eldest remarks that if she had the king's majordomo for her husband, she would quench the thirst of all the court with a single glass of wine; the second, that if the king's chamberlain were her husband, she would make enough linen from a spindle of yarn to provide shifts for all the court; the youngest, that if the king himself were her husband, she would bear him two sons and a daughter at one birth, each with hair braided below the shoulders, a golden necklace, and a star on the forehead. A courtier overhears the conversation and reports it to the king, who summons the sisters and grants their wishes, himself marrying the youngest. His mother is angry. During the king's absence, his wife bears three children who fulfil her description. The mother-in-law and the envious sisters substitute three mongrel pups, and place the children in a box on the river; they are rescued by a miller, who adopts them. On the

[23] Seelmann, p. lviii.

[24] No. 707, "Die drei goldenen Söhne," in A. Aarne, *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen*, Helsinki, 1910 (*FF Communications*, no. 3). The märchen has not as yet been the subject of any thorough study; most of the discussions are referred to in Chapter II as occasion arises.

[25] *Le Piacevoli Notti*, ed. G. Rua, Bari, 1927, I, 176 ff. A composite summary from twenty versions is given by Miss M. Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens*, New York, 1927, p. 50.

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king's return, the queen is sentenced to a foul prison. The children's nurture is provided for by precious stones which fall out of their hair. On learning that they are not children of the miller, they leave him and wander to the city. The king, passing by their dwelling, is struck by their appearance, invites them to dinner, and tells his mother of his meeting with them. This wicked old woman sends her accomplice the midwife to visit the girl, to persuade her to send her brothers on the dangerous quest of the dancing water. The quest is performed safely, and so is the quest of the singing apple which follows. But on the third quest, that of the talking bird, the brothers are turned to stone. Their sister follows and rescues them, and gets possession of the bird. All now return to town, and belatedly comply with the king's invitation to dinner. During the meal, the talking bird reveals the truth. The queen is delivered from prison, and the guilty are punished.

Certain striking differences between this story and that of VN are perhaps more apparent at first sight than the resemblances. Chief of these differences is that in the märchen we have no separation of the children, except during the quest; they grow up together in exactly the same way. Thus the very feature in the story of VN which has kept it alive — the difference between the brothers — is not referable to this source; there is no wild man in this story. The other notable difference is that the märchen queen is imprisoned, while the queen in VN wanders in exile, meeting with numerous adventures. And finally, of course, the story has been transferred from the realm of märchen to the realm of romance. But, subject to these qualifications, are not the two stories fundamentally the same?

A queen is falsely accused by her mother-in-law, and banished or imprisoned; her children, who possess certain distinguishing attributes, are exposed, and brought up as foundlings; grown, they leave home together, visit their father's court, and, after further wanderings, learn of their birth through a supernatural revelation, and deliver their mother.

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This outline, which is that of the Jealous Sisters märchen, is also that of the VN story if reduced to the following episodes (compare the Analysis):

1. The Marriage.
2. The Prediction.
3. The Conspiracy.

(These three episodes form a new, romantic introduction to the story.)

4. The Birth, Exposure, and Finding of Valentin and Namelos.
5. The Accusation and Banishment of Phila.
11. The Brothers Leave Pipping's Court.
16. The Brothers Aid Their Father against the Saracens.
18. The Revelation of Identity.
19. The Second Rescue of Phila and Blandemer.
21. Reunion, Punishment of the Villain, Marriages.

It must, of course, be admitted that the elements of this outline story, if taken separately, could be paralleled from a wide range of medieval fiction. The jealous mother-in-law, the false accusation, the exposure of children, the search of foundlings for their parents, their discovery of them — these things belong indeed to the common fund of story in all lands.[26] But it is their appearance in combination which, it seems to me, is decisive for the use of the märchen; so that, while it is possible that this or that detail may have had a source other than the märchen, I do not think

[26] Examples of Jealous Mother-in-Law and False Accusation have been most recently collected by Miss M. Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens*, New York, 1927; of the other motives mentioned, by H. Sparnaay, *Verschmelzung legendarischer und weltlicher Motive in der Poesie des Mittelalters*, Groningen, 1922, pp. 30 ff.

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it possible to deny that the märchen supplied the main outline.[27]

The episodes missing in this outline are (1) those that have to do with the adventures in exile of the queen and her companion:

6. The Temptation.
7. The Rescue of Lyca.
8. The False Palmer.
12. The Rescue of Blandemer.
13. The First Rescue of Phila.
14. Giant Magros;

and (2) those that have to do with the brothers as separate individuals:

4. The Birth, Exposure, and Finding of Valentin and Namelos (in so far as it involves their *separation*).
9. Valentin at Pipping's Court.
10. Namelos the Wild Man.

[27] The phenomenon is not an isolated one. It was pointed out some time ago by Gaston Paris that the romances of the fourteenth century (the period with which we are dealing) frequently borrowed their subjects from "des légendes populaires ou . . . des contes orientaux" (*Poésie du moyen âge*, 2e *série*, Paris, 1895, p. 191). More recently, Gédéon Huet has shown influence of this same Jealous Sisters märchen upon the swan-children romances and *Doon de la Roche* (*Romania*, XXXIV, 1905, 206 ff., and *Doon de la Roche*, p. lxxxiv); and, if I mistake not, the same märchen was the model for the Dieudonné episode in *Charles le Chauve* (see discussion of episode 5, in Chapter II). An interesting if rather bold series of identifications of romance stories with märchen types is made by E. Tegethoff, *Französische Volksmärchen*, Jena, 1923, pp. iii ff., 304 ff. The most notable recent contribution in this field is the study of Miss M. Schlauch, already referred to, which succeeds in introducing order into the tangled subject of persecuted heroines by showing how all of them have their origins in märchen. Miss Schlauch also recognizes the märchen character of the main plot in VN (*o. c.*, p. 91).

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15. The First Rescue of Rosemund (Namelos' wife).
17. The Abduction of Rosemund.
20. Namelos and a Second Woman.
22. The Second Rescue of Rosemund.[28]
23. Reunion of Namelos and Rosemund.

The threefold division of the episodes thus established will serve as a plan for the remainder of our discussion. In Chapter II, we shall consider the episodes which correspond in outline to the märchen; in Chapter III, the adventures in exile of the queen and her companion; and in Chapter IV, the brothers as separate individuals.[29]

[28] Episodes 17, 20, and 22 are reconstructed from hints in the Dutch fragments, as already noted in the Analysis.

[29] A certain overlapping is unavoidable. Episode 4 properly belongs in both Chapters II and IV; and it will be necessary also to consider in Chapter III some elements of episode 19, and in Chapter IV some elements of episodes 11, 13, 19, and 21 (as indicated by the chapter references in the Analysis).

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CHAPTER II

VALENTIN UND NAMELOS: MÄRCHEN AND ROMANCE

(Episodes 1–5, 11, 16, 18, 19, 21)

It has been shown in Chapter I that certain episodes of VN, forming the main outline of the story, correspond in a general way to the story of the Jealous Sisters märchen; and it has accordingly been proposed that we regard this märchen as the main source of the story. It is now in order to examine these episodes in detail, with a view to discovering further resemblances to the märchen, to noting differences, and to determining the romantic sources from which the author drew in this part of his story. The study will afford an interesting illustration of the process by which, in the period of romantic decline, märchen was made over into romance.

1. *The Marriage*

Crisostomus, King of Hungary, sends ambassadors to the court of King Pipping of France, asking for the hand of Pipping's sister, Phila. Pipping agrees to the proposal, and the ambassadors return with an invitation to Crisostomus to come to France for the wedding.

All rejoice at the news, except the king's mother (who is never named). Crisostomus gathers his vassals and announces his intention of proceeding to France with them. But Bishop Frankhart expresses unwillingness to go, and maintains that Pipping and Phila should have come to Hungary; the king's mother says likewise. Crisostomus replies in anger, "He who will not come may stay at home, but I will pay him back when I return"; whereupon Frankhart explains that he was only joking, that he and the king's mother will go gladly.

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So Crisostomus and his train journey to France, where they are well received, and the marriage takes place. All remain at the French court for a year (1–106).

The märchen introduction — Overheard Conversation — is missing. This introduction is in fact lacking in the oldest recorded variants,[1] and in some modern ones, including one recorded in Lorraine.[2] It is possible therefore that the version known to our author did not contain the Overheard Conversation.

A trait that may be from the märchen is the mother-in-law's enmity to the heroine, for in several variants the mother-in-law alone is the agent of evil.[3] This trait, however, is not constant in the märchen, and it may equally well

[1] Sanskrit (sixth century A.D.?) and Pali (fifth century A.D.). The Sanskrit story is discussed under episode 5; the Pali is found in the *Manorathapūraṇī* of Buddhaghosa (printed by M. Bode, "Women Leaders of the Buddhist Reformation," in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1893, and translated, pp. 540 ff.), and in the *Paramatthadīpanī* of Dhammapāla; I have found no translation or summary of the latter, but the story is said to be "almost word for word" as in Buddhaghosa (E. Müller, "Die Sage von Uppalavaṇṇā," in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, III, 1900, p. 220). That the Overheard Conversation is not an original feature of the story was suspected by W. A. Clouston ("Variants and Analogues," in R. F. Burton, *Supplemental Nights to the Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, Benares, 1887, III, 647) and proved by G. Huet ("Le conte des sœurs jalouses," in *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, II, 1911, p. 200); see also J. Bolte and G. Polívka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm*, Leipzig, 1913–18, II, 393.

[2] E. Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, Paris, [1887], I, 186 ff., 191. In the closely related story also, called by Aarne "Das durch den Genuss von Fisch geborene Mädchen" (*Verzeichnis*, no. 705), this introduction is lacking; the story is summarized below, under episode 5.

[3] Of thirty-seven variants examined at random, seventeen have mother-in-law, eleven have sisters, and the remaining nine (all Eastern variants) have jealous co-wives. Straparola is unique in retaining both mother-in-law and sisters.

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have come from the swan-children romances, which have clearly influenced this portion of our story, as we shall note under episode 4.[4] In short, there is little or nothing in this episode of märchen origin.

We turn therefore to the romantic elements in the episode, and the first of these is naturally the connection of the story with the Carolingian cycle. This connection, so far as this episode is concerned, is twofold. The suffering heroine is sister to king Pepin, as in the *Olive* story (e.g., in *Doon de la Roche*);[5] and the events leading up to her marriage would seem to be adapted from the *Berthe* story.[6] On the other hand, no attempt has been made to adapt our story to the data of Carolingian romance; no characteristic figure of the cycle, save the king himself, appears or is even mentioned anywhere in the poem; every version ignores the existence even of Charlemagne, and makes Valentin or Blandemer succeed to the crown of France on Pepin's death.[7] So that, if merely for "Pipping" and "France" other names were substituted, the story would thereby become completely detached from the Carolingian cycle. It is evident, then, that the composer of the romance simply gave to his märchen story a superficial connection with Pepin — suggested no doubt by the fact that there already existed a tradition, the *Olive* story, about an unjustly accused sister of that king. But he made no attempt to dovetail his story with

[4] Another possible source for the mother-in-law is *Octavian;* cf. Seelmann, p. liii.

[5] For full description of editions or analyses of texts quoted or referred to, see pp. 269 ff.

[6] Bishop Frankhart, a third Carolingian borrowing, is best discussed under episode 5.

[7] The MHG. prose states in its opening lines that Pepin was succeeded by his son little Pepin, the father of Emperor Charles and of Pope Leo; but the story itself fails to bear this out. (For Pope Leo, see G. Paris, *Histoire poétique de Charlemagne*, Paris, 1865, p. 406.)

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the other stories about Pepin;[8] and VN remains a Carolingian romance in name only.

Use of the *Berthe* story is confined to the opening episode. Crisostomus, the heroine's husband, is king of Hungary; and in most versions of the *Berthe* story, Pepin's unfortunate wife is daughter of the king of Hungary. We have here then a reminiscence rather than a borrowing; the king of Hungary has become Pepin's brother-in-law, instead of being his father-in-law. The demand in marriage, and the consent of Pepin, also follow the *Berthe* story, which however the author is obliged to depart from by the necessity of having his heroes born at Pepin's court; the bridegroom for this reason makes the journey to the bride's home, whereas in *Berthe* the bride is conducted by an embassy to her husband's kingdom.

The heroes, of course, must be born at Pepin's court in order that Valentin may be found by Pepin's daughter, which event forms the starting-point of episode 9. And it is also necessary that the mother-in-law and her accomplice shall be present, to steal and expose the children. The author has made use of this necessity to supply a motive for the mother-in-law's villainy which I think is unique in stories of this kind. She and her accomplice are represented as believing — why, is not made clear — that Phila and her brother should have come to Hungary for the marriage, instead of obliging King Crisostomus and his court to go to France. It is because the king forces the journey upon them by threats that they dislike the bride.[9]

Given the necessity for bringing the villains to France,

[8] The author of VO made more of an attempt in this direction; cf. discussion of VO chs. 1, 15, 16, 64, 66, in Chapters V and VI below.

[9] The motive is so peculiar that it escaped the attention of Seelmann: the mother-in-law plots "ohne dass man erfährt, warum und wozu," says he, p. lvi.

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there is thus a certain ingenuity shown in utilizing their objection to the journey as the ground of their villainy; still, the motive is hardly sufficient.[10] Feeling this weakness in the motivation, the author attempted to bolster it up a bit, and this attempt gives us the curious episode 2:

2. *The Prediction*

Phila being now pregnant, the king commands the astronomers to consult the stars as to the fate of her offspring. A master sees one evening in the stars that Phila is to bear twin sons who shall bring wonders to pass and shall be of great strength (107–20).

The prediction is a borrowing from the Fate motive found in such classical stories as those of Perseus, Paris, Telephos, Œdipus, and Cyrus, in the medieval Brutus and Judas legends, and in stories of the widespread Glückskind cycle.[11] Representatives of the type in medieval romance are the

[10] Another awkwardness resulting from the combination of episode 9 with the main story we may note here by the way. Clarina never thinks of connecting the child she has found with the current excitement about the missing children, a state of affairs which the poet lamely attempts to explain —

265 *Clarina en wiste nicht dar van,*
wo it mit Philan was gegân.

[11] L. Constans, *La légende d'Œdipe*, Paris, 1881; H. Matter, *Englische Gründungssagen*, Heidelberg, 1922 (*Anglistische Forschungen*, 58), pp. 75 ff.; A. d'Ancona, *La leggenda di Vergogna e la leggenda di Giuda*, Bologna, 1869 (*Scelta di Curiosità Lett.*, XCIX), pp. 86 ff.; W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, Edinburgh, 1887, II, 458 ff.; J. Schick, *Corpus Hamleticum*, I, 1, Berlin, 1912; E. Cosquin, *Etudes Folkloriques*, Paris, 1922, pp. 124 ff., 142 ff., 231 ff.; Bolte and Polívka, *Grimm-Anmerkungen*, no. 29; A. Aarne, *Der reiche Mann und sein Schwiegersohn*, Hamina, 1916 (*FF Communications*, no. 23); V. Tille, "Das Märchen vom Schicksalskind," in *Zschr. des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XXIX (1919), 22 ff.; N. M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story, being C. H. Tawney's Translation of Somadeva's Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, London, 1924–28, III, 279.

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thirteenth-century *Dit de l'empereor Constant* [12] and the fourteenth-century *Esmoreit* and *Seghelijn van Jerusalem*.[13] In all these stories, a prediction is made concerning a child to be born, which prediction comes to fulfillment in spite of efforts put forth to prevent it. Frequently, the child is given to a servant to be killed, but instead is exposed and rescued. Since an exposure incident is also part of the Jealous Sisters märchen, one story doubtless suggested the other to our author's mind, and he borrowed from the Fate story the prediction incident, with a vague idea that it would make the conduct of his villains more plausible. It does not do so, of course, because the prediction is not of such a nature as to give the villains any cause for alarm.[14] The source may have been *Constant* (which alone of the romantic versions preserves the exposure situation unaltered) or else a märchen of the Glückskind type.

Another source, belonging to the Fate group but lacking the exposure theme, seems to be the frame-story of *Dolopathos*. Here, as in VN, a prediction is made by order of the king, while the queen is pregnant, and by consultation of the stars; no other story that I have seen agrees in all these particulars.[15] *Dolopathos* therefore may have suggested the details of the episode.

3. *The Conspiracy*

On hearing this, Frankhart and the king's mother are enraged, and plot how they may destroy the children. It is agreed that when the children are born, a maidservant shall take and drown them (121–36).

[12] A. Wesselofsky, in *Romania*, VI (1877), 161 ff.

[13] M. Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens*, pp. 10, 129.

[14] In *Esmoreit* also, the prediction is awkwardly used; a threatening prediction is made, but never fulfilled; cf. Schlauch, *o. c.*, p. 10.

[15] *Dolopathos*, Hilka, p. 12; Brunet and Montaiglon, p. 40.

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Some plot against the heroine and her children is of course a constant element in the märchen story. Perhaps the version known to our author gave no motive at all, or perhaps it gave one which he thought unsuitable. In either case, he made, as we have seen, an attempt to supply the deficiency from other romantic or märchen material and from his own invention. The attempt remains a failure. Unless something has been lost in the abbreviation of our texts, there is no really sufficient motive for the villainy of the mother-in-law and the bishop.

4. *The Birth, Exposure, and Finding of Valentin and Namelos*

Phila bears twin sons; no one is by but the wicked mother-in-law and her unwilling accomplice, the maidservant Philomin. The latter, obeying the commands of the king's mother, takes the children; but instead of drowning them, she places one in a box (*schrîn*) which she throws into the river (*dike*), and the other under a tree (*vor einen busch*) in the forest. The latter child is found, carried off, and suckled, by a she-wolf. Philomin returns and reports to the king's mother that the children have been drowned; Phila all this while lies unconscious, knowing nothing of what has occurred (137–92).

Two days later, the child in the box is found, floating on the river, by Pipping's daughter, Clarina; she carries it secretly to her room, and her chamberlain feeds it on goat's milk; Clarina sees a cross between its shoulders, which proves that it is of good birth (239–66).

For the episode as a whole we have assumed as source a form of the Jealous Sisters märchen, and it is therefore unnecessary to list here the numerous stories in which children are exposed. But a few points call for discussion.

First, our story is of twin brothers. The number, sex, and order of the children is a matter which in the märchen varies greatly. Of thirty-four variants tabulated at random, seventeen have twins, who are, however, most often boy and girl;

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twin boys occur in only six of the thirty-four variants. Lacking any thorough study of the märchen, such as might reveal what form of it was current in fourteenth-century France, we can only say that it is unlikely that our author found twin brothers in his märchen source. It is probable that he made the children twin brothers in order that he might introduce into his romance the motive of the Separated Brothers, which, as we have recognized, is not a part of the märchen, and which we have therefore reserved for examination in Chapter IV.

For the same reason, he used both of the standard methods of exposure — on the water and in the forest — which in the märchen always occur separately. The märchen children are nearly always exposed in one of these two ways; but always in the same way, in any given variant.[16] In our story, Valentin is exposed on the water, and Namelos in the forest; and thus the story of the Separated Brothers is begun.

The maidservant Philomin, who, charged to kill the children, is touched with pity and exposes them instead, is a figure frequent in exposure stories, though generally absent in Jealous Sisters.[17] Particularly like Philomin's soliloquy is

[16] Both methods are common in popular story; cf. Aarne, *Der reiche Mann und sein Schwiegersohn*, pp. 56, 60, 82, 91. The former is perhaps original in our märchen (which seems to come from the East), because it is frequent in other Oriental stories; cf. J. Hertel, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen aus Hēmacandras Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, Leipzig, 1908, I, 70, and pp. 229 ff., and in *Zschr. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXV (1911), 439; J. J. Meyer, *Das Weib im altindischen Epos*, Leipzig, 1915, pp. 28, 29 n.; H. Günter, *Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, Heidelberg, 1910 (*Religionswissenschaftliche Bibliothek*, II), p. 205; Cosquin, *Etudes Folkloriques*, pp. 215 ff.

[17] I have found her in only one variant, "Güldenstern und Güldenkette," in Frommann's *Deutsche Mundarten*, IV (1857), 263 ff.; this variant has been clearly influenced by the swan-children romances. Romantic examples are collected by C. Boje, *Über den af. Roman von Beuve de Hamtone*, Halle, 1909 (*Beihefte zur ZRP*, 19), p. 65.

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a passage in a fourteenth-century Latin version (translated from a French original) of the swan-children romance *Béatrix:*

Ve mihi misero nescienti quod consilium apprehendere potero in isto negocio maledicto! Si enim hos innocentes occidero, mors mihi est; si non istos peremero, non effugiam manus impiissime Matebrune.[18]

The parallel lines in VN are:

157 *. . . vorgete ik miner tucht*
dat ik desse eddelen vrucht
aldus dode, dat were quât!
doch is it miner vrowen rât,
do ik des nicht, so bin ik dôt.

The swan-children romances begin, like the Jealous Sisters märchen, with the false accusation of a queen, and the exposure of her children;[19] and, as we proceed, we shall note evident borrowings from these romances. It may well be, therefore, that the passage quoted, or its original, was in our author's mind here.

The suckling of Namelos by a wild beast is another feature which may come either from the märchen source or from Swan-Children. The märchen children are suckled by a hind, in a Sicilian tale,[20] and in one from the Caucasus;[21] by a goat, in a Greek version,[22] and a Turkish;[23] and are fed by rats,

[18] *Chevalier au Cygne*, I, 186. The phraseology is borrowed from Susanna's speech to the elders, *Daniel*, XIII, 22.

[19] Literature in Miss L. A. Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England*, New York, 1924, pp. 240 ff.

[20] G. Pitrè, *Fiabe, novelle e racconti popolari siciliani*, [Palermo,] 1875, no. 36.

[21] A. Schiefner, *Awarische Texte*, St. Petersburg, 1873, no. 12.

[22] J. G. v. Hahn, *Griechische und albanesische Märchen*, Leipzig, 1864, no. 69.

[23] I. Kúnos, *Türkische Volksmärchen aus Stambul*, Leiden, 1905, pp. 63 ff.

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in a Hindu variant.[24] In the related Swan-Children märchen,[25] the children are cared for by a lioness,[26] by a wolf,[27] or by ravens.[28] In the swan-children romances, the children are suckled by a hind,[29] or by a goat.[30] While the Suckling Beast is one of the most widespread motives in fiction, these are the likely sources; but the *wolf* as suckling beast is the result of the mingling of our story with that of the Separated Brothers, as we shall see in Chapter IV.[31]

Whether the märchen children are suckled by a beast or not, they are, of course, always found by some human character. In our story, Valentin is found by the king's daughter, a trait that seems to be from the Biblical story of Moses, and which leads directly into episode 9, Valentin's youth at his uncle's court (Chapter IV). The feeding him with goat's milk is a clear borrowing from the swan-children romances: the children in *Dolopathos* are fed on the milk of a hind,[32] and in *Elioxe* on the milk of goats.[33] The circumstance is appropriate only in these romances, where the children are

[24] M. Frere, *Old Deccan Days*, London, 1868, pp. 55 ff.

[25] Aarne, *Verzeichnis*, no. 451; Grimm, nos. 9, 49.

[26] German; Bolte and Polívka, *Grimm-Anmerkungen*, I, 427 ff.

[27] Irish; P. Kennedy, *The Fireside Stories of Ireland*, Dublin, 1870, pp. 14 ff., reprinted in W. B. Yeats, *Irish Fairy and Folk Tales*, New York, n. d., pp. 300 ff.

[28] Swabian; Meier, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus Schwaben*, no. 49, quoted by W. Müller in *Germania*, I (1856), p. 426; and Serbo-Croatian; A. Leskien, *Balkanmärchen*, Jena, 1919, no. 34.

[29] *Isomberte*, p. 321.

[30] *Béatrix*, p. 15.

[31] I do not know of any general study of the Suckling Beast, and the material is so vast as to make such a study impossible here. I think the list in the text is complete for the Jealous Sisters and Swan-Children märchen, and an attempt is made in Chapter IV to collect the stories of suckling *wolves* (p. 103).

[32] Hilka, p. 82; Brunet and Montaiglon, p. 326.

[33] *Elioxe*, 1489–91.

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brought up by a hermit in the forest. In VN it appears as an absurd borrowing, for there must have been a dairy connected with the palace. Namelos, who is not found by anyone but the wolf, passes thus, like his brother, for a time, out of the Jealous Sisters story, and his separate adventures are pursued in episode 10 (Chapter IV).

On the cross between the shoulders, see discussion of episode 11 below.

5. *The Accusation and Banishment of Phila*

Meanwhile, Crisostomus goes with his mother to visit his wife. The children are missing, Phila can give no account of them, and the king's mother asserts that Phila, like a lioness, has murdered her offspring. Pipping, consulted, declares that justice must be done; Frankhart supports the accusation (193–238).

Phila is brought to judgment, and a fire is built. Frankhart exhorts her to confess to him; she protests her innocence, but he pretends that she has confessed her guilt; enraged, she bites off his nose. Pipping advises that she be burnt, and rides off into the city. But a young knight, Blandemer, reproves Frankhart, and upholds Phila's innocence, although his father, Duke Baldewin (Gawyn, B; Seivaen, N III), warns him not to meddle. Finally, the lords take counsel. Baldewin asserts that it would be a disgrace to all if the queen were burnt, and advises that she and Blandemer be banished together. So it is determined, and Phila and Blandemer ride off into exile (267–368).

The accusation brought against Phila is in these terms:

209 *se liket der louwinnen stark;*
ik weddes umme dusent mark,
se heft vormordet de kindelîn.

Vormordet is clearly a euphemism, as the comparison with the lioness indicates. The lioness eats her cubs; Phila has eaten her children. So the accusation must have stood in the märchen source.

Here, however, is a difficulty. It is practically a constant feature in Jealous Sisters that the queen is accused, not of

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having eaten her children, but of having given birth to animals. This circumstance makes it all the more interesting to note the exceptions.[34]

The Jealous Sisters variants known to me which contain the cannibalism accusation are these:

Sanskrit. — The heroine, Padmavatī, is born miraculously of a gazelle. At each step she takes, a lotus springs from the ground. King Brahmadatta finds her in the forest, and marries her. The king's other wives, seeing themselves neglected, avenge themselves by taking away the twin sons to whom Padmavatī has just given birth, and throwing them into the Ganges in a box. They then daub the heroine's face with blood, and accuse her of having devoured her children. She is ordered to execution, but the officer charged to kill her learns the truth from her, and keeps her secretly in his dwelling. Meanwhile, a *deva* appears before the king, and accuses him of having too hastily condemned his wife. The wicked wives are forced to confess; the box is found by fishermen, and the children are recognized by their resemblance to the king. Padmavatī, sought out by the king, obtains pardon for the guilty, then takes up the life of a wandering ascetic. At Benares, King Kṛikin tries in vain to seduce her; and at this point Brahmadatta reappears, and takes her home with him.[35]

This variant lacks the usual introduction, and otherwise differs markedly from the usual form in that the heroine occupies the center of the stage, while the children play an entirely passive part. Clouston thought it "perhaps the primitive form" because it lacked the conclusion, the Quest of Wonderful Objects undertaken by the children; this Quest being a common märchen motive in other connec-

[34] G. Huet, in *Revue d'Ethnog. et de Sociol.*, II, 199, erred in failing to recognize that the cannibalism accusation does occur in Jealous Sisters.

[35] The story is given in the *Mahāvastu* (sixth century A.D.?), ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1897, III, xvii, 152, and in the *Avadānakalpalatā* (R. Mitra, *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882, p. 65; Clouston, "Variants and Analogues," p. 647). On the date of the Mahāvastu, cf. A. Barth, in *Journal des Savants*, 1899, p. 629.

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tions.[36] As to the introduction, Huet (without reference to the Sanskrit or to Clouston's work) showed that the Overheard Conversation in the common version is clearly out of place — for how could an ordinary baker's daughter undertake to give birth to children with supernatural attributes? — and is lacking in many Eastern versions; but occurs with entire propriety in an Egyptian tale of three contending magicians; hence was probably picked up in Egypt.[37] We may further note that the Supernatural Attributes in the Sanskrit are possessed by the mother, not the children,[38] and are entirely in place, the mother being a supernatural person. All these considerations, taken together with the great age of the story, make it seem likely that we have here something close to the primitive form of the Jealous Sisters märchen. At any rate, we certainly have here, in one of the oldest versions of the story, the accusation of cannibalism.

Closely related to this Sanskrit story is a group of Danish tales, of which I summarize one:

Danish. — A sleeping beggar-man is bitten in the thigh by a worm; the thigh swells, and from it the heroine is born. A "Gaben" [39] carries the infant to its nest in a tree outside the king's castle, and brings it up. When grown, the heroine is discovered by the king, who has her clothed and taught. The king's son marries her, despite his mother's disapproval. A son is born during the father's absence from home, and the heroine brands it on the thigh. But the wicked mother-in-law steals the child, and sends it away to a castle, writing the father (now king) that the queen has eaten her child. The king, however, on his return, forgives her. The same events are repeated twice, the three children being sent however to three different places. The third time, the king feels obliged to send his wife away. She departs in state, and spends the night at the castle to which her first child was sent.

[36] Clouston, *o. c.*, p. 646.
[37] Huet, *o. c.*, p. 200.
[38] At least so far as the summaries inform us.
[39] Apparently some sort of miraculous bird.

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If the castle-dwellers cannot guess her riddle, they must give her the boy. "A worm my father, a man my mother, a linden-tree clothed me, a 'Gaben' fed me, King Olmersøn wooed me, three sons I bore him, and they bear all three one mark." On their failure to guess, she takes the child, and recognizes the brand on the thigh. The same thing occurs at the mill, and at the parsonage, to which the other two boys have been sent. Meanwhile the king, finding that he cannot do without his wife, has followed her; he receives his children, and persuades the mother — though at first unwilling — to return home; the mother-in-law is punished.[40]

This story substitutes the mother-in-law for the jealous co-wives (in accordance with Western manners), and adds the riddle motive, but otherwise is much the same as the Sanskrit. One difference that brings it nearer the usual form is that the children, not the mother, have the Supernatural Attributes, here rationalized into a brand on the thigh.

There is one more cannibalism variant, from the Masai of East Africa:

Masai. — A jealous co-wife amputates a finger [41] of each of the newly-born twin boys, puts the blood on the mother's mouth, and

[40] "Dronningens mørke Tale," in E. T. Kristensen, *Aventyr fra Jylland*, III (*Jyske Folkeminder*, XII), København, 1895, no. 18. A variant in the same collection (IV, no. 5) has a tiger in place of the "Gaben," while the proceedings with the children are similar to those with the child Valentin — the mother-in-law gives each child in turn to a maid to be drowned, and the maid takes pity on it and sets it adrift in a box on the river. Another variant (S. Grundtvig, *Folksagor och äfventyr, svensk öfversättning af R. B.*, Stockholm, 1879, no. 9) shows some confusion; the queen first goes through her wanderings and asks her riddles, then returns home and finds the children; the Supernatural Attributes are lacking; the accusation is in normal Jealous Sisters form, that is, of giving birth to animals. These Danish stories have not been recognized as belonging to the Jealous Sisters type, but are referred to by Bolte and Polívka under Marienkind, Grimm no. 3; Aarne, *Verzeichnis*, no. 705.

[41] So at least I gather from the rather vague statement in Hollis. The device of cutting off portions of the children's bodies in connection

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accuses her of eating the children. The latter float downstream in a drum; grown, they learn they are foundlings, return to their native country, and meet their mother, who as a punishment has been obliged to keep asses. She relates what happened, the missing fingers establish the children's identity, and recognition and reunion follow.[42]

Here, as in the usual form, the interest is centered on the children, although there is not yet a Quest. The mother has become an ordinary mortal, and is punished at home, while the children do the traveling. On the other hand, we have, as in the Sanskrit, the jealous co-wife and the accusation of cannibalism. If, then, the Sanskrit represents the primitive form, the present story would represent an intermediate stage between the primitive and the form current in Europe. The Masai have it perhaps ultimately from Egypt.[43]

It is not my intention, by picking a few variants here and there, to prove any theory as to the history of this widespread märchen, and what has been said on this matter is to be taken as an interesting speculation only. The point I am making is that the accusation of cannibalism does occur in this märchen; unless we deny that the variants quoted are variants of the märchen, in which case it is equally significant for our purpose that the accusation occurs in these related stories. It is therefore at least a possibility that the author of our romance was acquainted with a variant of

with the cannibalism accusation is found in an Icelandic Marienkind variant (J. C. Poestion, *Isländische Märchen*, Wien, 1884, pp. 153 ff.); the lack of the parts here also serves to establish the children's identity. An Esthonian Swan-Children variant has the mutilation, but without recognition (A. v. Löwis of Menar, *Finnische und estnische Volksmärchen*, Jena, 1922, no. 83).

[42] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905, pp. 177 ff.; M. Merker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 219 ff., and from Merker in C. Meinhof, *Afrikanische Märchen*, Jena, 1921, no. 80; Bolte and Polívka, I, 20 n.

[43] They "may have been at one time in touch with races influenced by ancient Egypt," according to Hollis, *o. c.*, p. xiv.

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Jealous Sisters in which the heroine was accused of eating her children.

The possibility becomes a probability when we consider the fact that the Dieudonné episode in *Charles le Chauve*,[44] another fourteenth-century romance, is evidently modeled upon the Jealous Sisters märchen, and that the accusation shows a curious mixture of the Cannibalism and Birth to Animals charges: a dead chicken is substituted for the queen's child, her face is smeared with blood, and she is accused of having eaten her child, in fact it is asserted that

Elle ne weult mengier quenfanchons petis.[45]

Rubke, who would derive this portion of *Charles le Chauve* from *Béatrix* and *Doon de Maience*,[46] fails to account for the presence here of the cannibalism accusation, which can have none but a märchen source. It is altogether likely, in short, that a Jealous Sisters variant containing the cannibalism accusation was known in fourteenth-century France, and was the source of VN and of this episode of *Charles le Chauve*.

Apart from the Jealous Sisters märchen, the accusation of cannibalism is frequent in two other related märchen from which our author might have taken it:

Marienkind (Grimm no. 3, Aarne no. 710). — Here a series of trials is undergone by the heroine, imposed by A. the Virgin, B. a mysterious dark lady, or C. a man.[47] Her children are stolen, and she is accused, in most versions, of eating them (sometimes the accusation is merely of killing). When the heroine has been tried sufficiently, the children are restored.

[44] *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXVI, 100–110; O. Rubke, *Studien über die Chanson de Ch. le Ch.*, Greifswald, 1909, pp, 18 ff., 66; Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens*, p. 130.

[45] Schlauch, *l. c.*

[46] *O. c.*, p. 67.

[47] Bolte and Polívka, I, 14, following Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, II, 62.

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Swan-Children (Grimm nos. 9, 25, 49, Aarne no. 451). — Brothers are changed to birds or other animals, and are disenchanted by their sister, who has to submit to a false accusation as part of the process of disenchantment; the accusation is frequently that she has eaten her children.[48]

But, since these märchen do not exhibit the same correspondence with the rest of our romance as does Jealous Sisters, it is less likely that this single trait was borrowed from one of them, and Jealous Sisters remains the most likely source.[49]

Her primitive accusation made, the anonymous mother-in-law disappears finally from the story, which proceeds for a considerable space to draw from romantic sources entirely. The rest of this episode is mainly from the stories of three Carolingian persecuted heroines — Olive, Sibille, and Parise.

Olive. — We have already noted, under episode 1, that our romancer borrowed the idea of a persecuted sister of Pepin from the Olive story. In the present episode, Pepin's anger with his sister on hearing the accusation against her has the same source (*Doon de la Roche*, 393 ff.).

Sibille. — The French prose *Reine Sibille* is still unpublished, and the fragments of the *chanson* do not bear upon this episode. We are obliged therefore to use for comparison the Spanish prose *Sevilla*, chs. 4–8:

> On the discovery of the queen's supposed adultery, the traitor Macaire, and others of the lineage of Galalon, demand that she be burnt. A fire is built, and Sevilla, protesting innocence and imploring mercy, is led out to execution. Aymes and others intercede for her. . . . The emperor at last agrees to spare her life, but orders her into exile, under the guard of Auberi.

[48] The Swan-Children *märchen* is to be distinguished from the swan-children *romances*; in the latter, the accusation of cannibalism does not occur.

[49] On the accusation of cannibalism and its roots in märchen and custom, cf. Miss Schlauch, *o. c.*, pp. 12 ff.

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Our episode corresponds in general outline to *Sevilla*, and also to the *chanson Macaire*, pp. 30–62, another version of the same material. The source, however, is a version of *Reine Sibille* rather than of *Macaire*, because the name of the villain Frankhart comes from the former. It is given to us by Jean d'Outremeuse, *Myreur des Histors*, III, 42 ff.:

Gennulhon threatens the unfortunate queen with death. He then convokes his friends, who agree to push the accusation against Sibille, because of their enmity to Ogier, her cousin. Fouchart (*Fouchars*), one of the group, goes to the dwarf who has made the accusation and urges him to stick to his story, promising him protection. The traitors urge upon Charles the punishment of the queen. She is led out to execution. Ogier arrives, and undertakes her defense; he threatens the dwarf with death unless he will reveal the plot. But Francquart (*Francquar*) and his brother Helias make signs to the dwarf not to be afraid. Ogier, seeing this by-play, draws his sword and kills sixteen of the traitors. He finally forces the dwarf to confess that Francquart (*Francquars*), who was among those killed, had led him by a promise of protection to accuse the queen falsely. Sibille, nevertheless, is banished.

Fouchart and Francquart in this passage are evidently the same person, and Fouchart-Francquart and his brother Helias are evidently the traitorous pair called *Focaire e Aloris* and *Aloris e Foucans* in *Sevilla*,[50] and *Faukes e Aloriz* in the *Reine Sibille* fragments.[51]

If we assume that the French original of VN had the name Francquart, it could not have borrowed it from Jean, whose work was written 1395–1400,[52] a date at which VN was already circulating in Dutch. It follows then that Jean,

[50] Ch. 18, p. 511, and ch. 4, p. 505.

[51] Fragment 1, line 13, in *Romania*, XLIV (1915–17), pp. 1 ff. Cf. *Aulori* (*Alori*) *et Forcon*, in *Gaydon*, pp. 89, 106, 124, 142; *Aloris* and *Forcon*, in *Parise*, p. 57; *Fouque*, *Aloris*, in *Geste de Liége*, 19288. *Fouques et Aloris* in *Gaufrey*, p. 78, are among the descendants of Doon de Maience.

[52] Edition cited, VII, xciii, cxxxi.

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in writing this passage, had two accounts before him, one of which gave him the name Fouchart which is attested also by the Spanish, while the other gave him the Francquart attested by VN, which also drew from this source.

Parise. — There are three parallels to *Parise la Duchesse:*

(1) The confession scene is suggested by *Parise*, pp. 20–21:

> The heroine, at the stake, confesses to a false bishop of the lineage of the traitors,[53] protesting innocence of the crime. The bishop, however, announces that she has confessed her guilt. Because he has broken the seal of confession, he is ordered to the stake forthwith.[54]

Frankhart is not burnt, because the author has need of him later; but his nose is bitten off by the heroine, and his conduct is denounced by Blandemer, who exclaims, "If you were not a priest, I should fight you for having revealed confession"!

It must have been entirely for the sake of this scene that the author made Frankhart a bishop; at any rate, no other reason is evident, and there is no other falsely accusing bishop in romance, so far as I have found.[55]

(2) The young Blandemer's intervention on Phila's behalf

[53] This is why Phila, in reproving Frankhart, says:

308 *du unde dîn slechte allegader*
de weten wol van der mordât.

Since Frankhart's relatives are not mentioned elsewhere, the author here was thinking of his source rather than of his poem; unless something has dropped out.

[54] The *Parise* scene in turn was suggested by *Macaire*, pp. 48 ff.: the heroine confesses to the abbot of St. Denis, who repeats to Charles her protestation of innocence, and adds a plea for mercy.

[55] A wicked bishop brings a false accusation in the English legend of Queen Emma (L. A. Hibbard, in *PLMA*, XXXVI, 1921, pp. 227, 235 ff., and *Mediaeval Romance in England*, p. 144); and another reveals confession in a Latin story (J. Klapper, *Erzählungen des Mittelalters*, Breslau, 1914, no. 125).

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was apparently suggested by the similar intervention of a "vallet," aged fifteen, in *Parise*, p. 9.

(3) Baldewin's proposal that Phila be sent away "with my son" is like Clarembaut's offer of his son as champion for the duchess (*ibid.*, p. 22).

Parise actually goes into exile accompanied by ten of Clarembaut's sons (p. 22). The single attendant in VN is from *Reine Sibille* of course; but by the use of these suggestions from *Parise*, the author has improved on the Sibille story. Blandemer's youthful ardor is well represented, and the queen is given a companion who has voluntarily espoused her cause, instead of one chosen at random.

The name *Blandemer* is perhaps suggested by *Brangemuer*, in the "pseudo-Wauchier" *Perceval;*[56] our author was familiar with Arthurian as with Carolingian romance, as will be evident in the next chapter. Baldewin's name is from *Doon de Maience*, where the knight Baudouin intercedes for the unhappy duchess.[57]

The study of episode 5 has shown us our author's method in miniature. There are clear indications of the märchen origin of the underlying story; but the episode as a whole is more or less skilfully woven together of materials gathered from a wide reading of medieval romance. Such is the manner in which our story as a whole was composed.

Between episodes 5 and 11 we have three (6–8) dealing with the adventures in exile of Phila and Blandemer, and two (9–10) dealing with the separate lives of Valentin and Namelos, and their reunion. The story rejoins the märchen pattern again with episode 11, in which the brothers, united after their separation, set out together on the search for Valentin's parents (Valentin's parents, because it is not yet known that Namelos is Valentin's brother).

[56] Miss J. Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, London, 1906–09, I, 20.
[57] *Doon de Maience*, pp. 25 ff.

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11. *The Brothers Leave Pipping's Court*

Valentin now determines to leave court and seek his father and mother, with Namelos as companion. They bid farewell to Clarina, who attempts in vain to dissuade Valentin from leaving by offering to be his wife. She gives them a flask of wound-healing liquor (1236–81).

An episode of this kind, in which the foundlings leave their foster-parents, is of course a necessity in the märchen, and is led up to in various ways which are tabulated by Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, I, 192; the most common being, that the children learn that their foster-parents are not their true parents. Such a motive for leaving court, however, was out of the question in our story. Valentin, at Pepin's court, must necessarily be aware from the beginning that he is a foundling. It is impossible that he should consider himself a son of King Pepin, as the Jealous Sisters foundlings consider themselves children of the fishermen, millers and what not who adopt them. Our author is therefore obliged to invent an occasion for sending his heroes on their travels, and he does so very ingeniously.

In the märchen, the children are possessed of certain Supernatural Attributes (in Straparola, a star on the forehead). Valentin and Namelos, in like manner, have been given a birthmark — a cross between the shoulders. This cross is a sign of noble birth which is very common in the romances,[58]

[58] A collection of examples follows: *Arthur of Little Britain*, ch. 114; *Bovo*, 2047; *Bueve I*, 7081, 7096, 7117, 7509; *II*, 1309, 5597; *III*, 1250; *Charles le Chauve*, *Hist. litt.*, XXVI, p. 101; *Crescentia*, 1004 ff. (*Kaiserchronik*, 12770 ff.; prose, D iv a); *Emare*, 502; *Florent et Octavian*, pp. 304, 330, 332; *Havelok*, 604, 1262, 2139, and in rationalized form in the English prose *Brut*, II, 587; *Lion de Bourges*, Simrock pp. 223, 227, 271, Krickmeyer pp. 8, 9, 25, 29, 30, 31, Zeddies p. 24; *Macaire*, p. 120; *Malegijs*, pp. 299, 303; *Parise la Duchesse*, pp. 25, 36; *Reali di Francia*, bk. 2, ch. 1; *Renier*, p. 64; *Richars li Biaus*, 669; *Seghelijn van Jerusalem*

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and which perhaps is similar in origin to the Supernatural Attributes of our märchen. Like them, it is sometimes used as a narrative device to bring about recognition, in a manner familiar since the days of the Greeks.[59]

In VN, too, the cross seems to be a recognition device, but it is something else as well. It is mentioned only twice in the course of the story: when Clarina finds the child Valentin (lines 261–64), and when Namelos has been captured (lines 1208–10). In the first passage, the cross is explained as being a sign of noble birth; in the second, the explanation is omitted, except in the Swedish version. But, immediately after seeing the cross on Namelos' shoulder, Valentin decides to set out, with Namelos, in quest of his parents. It would appear that something has been lost in abbreviation, but the connection is plain. Valentin, after Namelos has been shaved, and after observing the cross on Namelos' shoulder, notes that the mark is similar to his own; he concludes that Namelos is a near relative; and this brings to a head his determination to find out who his parents are. In other words, our author, after transforming the Supernatural Attributes of the märchen into the cross of romance, makes use of the latter, in connection with the separation and

(H. Schneider, *Die Gedichte u. die Sage v. Wolfdietrich*, München, 1913, p. 369); *Silence*, p. 90; *Tristan de Nanteuil*, *Hist. litt.*, XXVI, p. 239; *Wolfdietrich*, B. 141; in Persian epic, I. Pizzi, *Storia della poesia persiana*, Torino, 1894, II, 424. Some of these references, and a few others (mainly to non-romantic literature), are collected by M. Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*, Strasbourg, 1924 (*Publ. de la Fac. des Lett. de l'Univ. de Strasbourg*, fasc. 19), pp. 246 ff. Bloch finds that the idea grew up apparently about the twelfth century; he gives some parallels from antiquity, but none from folklore, and does not touch upon the question of origin. For the latter, see the earlier works referred to by Bloch. On the hereditary mark attributed to the Merovingians, see G. L. Hamilton, in *Medieval Studies in Memory of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis*, Paris and New York, 1927, pp. 301 ff.

[59] Aristotle, *Poetics*, XVI.

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reunion of his heroes, to supply a motive for their setting out upon their travels, in place of the märchen motive which was not available for his purpose.

The farewell to Clarina is properly a part of episode 9; and episodes 12–15 fall outside of the märchen pattern. We therefore continue here with episode 16:

16. *The Brothers Aid Their Father against the Saracens*

[Three weeks later,] Valentin continues his journey in search of his parents, and Namelos insists on accompanying him. They reach Hungary, and aid king Crisostomus against the heathen; Namelos, invisible, does great slaughter with his club; the Emperor of Tartarie (*so* H; Katarie, S; Taterin, Sw) is taken, and the Saracens flee. Frankhart objects to the honor paid to the strangers, and is chastised by Namelos. He then attempts to persuade the heathen Emperor to join him in a plan of revenge; but the Emperor refuses, pays a ransom, makes peace, and goes home. Valentin and Namelos take leave of the king and continue their journey (2051–2228).

The episode is a mere commonplace of the romances of adventure, with details of which it is useless to seek the source. Apparently it parallels the episode in the märchen in which the children, having left their foster-parents, arrive at their father's court, attract his attention, and cause the villains to send them on the dangerous Quest of Wonderful Objects. The similarity seems slight, and yet is it evident that the brothers do attract the unfavorable notice and comment of the villain, bishop Frankhart, and the episode corresponding to the märchen Quest follows immediately. Perhaps, in the unabbreviated version, Frankhart's plot had something to do with the Quest. Namelos' invisibility is accounted for by episode 15 (Ch. IV).

18. *The Revelation of Identity*

The brothers, continuing their journey, meet a serpent (*serpentelîn*, HS; panther, Sw), which promises to tell Valentin who

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his parents are, if he will follow; they do so. The serpent enters "the castle" and reveals to "the maiden" Rosilia (Rosaliliae, Sw; Dalfubie?, N II; Dalfadiane, N III) who they are, where their mother is, and how Namelos may be made to speak by cutting a vein under his tongue. The serpent says further, that if Valentin and Rosilia love each other, its life is at an end. The brothers have by this time reached the castle, and been admitted; Valentin and Rosilia immediately fall in love, and the serpent bursts asunder like an egg. (Instead, Rosilia shuts it up in a room, B.) After exacting a promise of marriage, Rosilia reveals what the serpent has told her, to the joy of the brothers. Namelos' tongue is cut, so that he can now speak. Rosilia points out that Phila must now be rescued from giant Magros, and reveals that the latter has a ring on his finger, wherein resides all his strength (2229–2366).

This episode corresponds to the Quest of Wonderful Objects in the märchen, having the same result — revelation of identity. It has, of course, undergone considerable modification through romantic influence. In the märchen, three magical objects are usually sought, by the children in turn, merely for the pleasure of possessing them, the search being instigated by the villains with the aim of getting rid of the children; and the third object is a talking bird which reveals the children's birth. In VN, we have no quest of magical objects, but the brothers continue together the quest upon which they had at first set out, namely, that of news of Valentin's parents, and appear to come only by chance upon the well-informed serpent. A like simplification occurs in a few Jealous Sisters variants, in which the children either seek the talking bird with the avowed purpose of asking it what they want to know, or else meet it entirely by chance.[60]

[60] Thus in an Icelandic version, the children ask all whom they meet for news of their parents, and "an old man" advises that the talking bird be consulted, which is done (Poestion, *Isländische Märchen*, pp. 192 ff.). Other variants of this kind are French (*Revue des traditions populaires*, V, 1890, p. 737), Spanish (F. Maspons y Labrós, *La Rondallayre*, Barcelona, 1871, pp. 107 ff.), and Russian (Bolte and Polívka,

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But the resemblance of VN to these märchen is no doubt accidental; and if the chance meeting with the serpent is not the result of abbreviation (as suggested under episode 16), it is due to the influence of the romantic sources to be noted below.

A similar thing is true of the object of the Quest. Instead of the usual talking bird, we have in VN the maiden Dalfadiane-Rosilia and her talking serpent. The same substitution of a maiden for the talking bird is found in a group of Jealous Sisters variants.[61] But here again, it is probably not an unusual märchen variant that has influenced our romance. The well-informed damsel who reveals to the hero

II, 387). The other group, in which the revealer of the secret is met with entirely by chance, is represented by an Arabic variant (A. Socin, in *Zschr. der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XXXVI, 1882, pp. 259 ff.) and an Aramaic (E. Prym and E. Socin, *Der neu-aramäische Dialekt des Tûr 'Abdîn*, Göttingen, 1881, pp. 349 ff.); the latter is much altered in other details, and obviously corrupt.

[61] Arabic (G. Spitta Bey, *Contes arabes modernes*, no. 11, quoted by Clouston, "Variants and Analogues," pp. 619 ff.), Turkish (Kúnos, *Türkische Volksmärchen*, pp. 63 ff.), Caucasian (Schiefner, *Awarische Texte*, no. 12), Greek (Legrand, *Recueil de contes populaires grecs*, quoted by Clouston, pp. 626 ff.), Albanian (Hahn, *Griechische u. albanesische Märchen*, pp. 287 ff., and with some variation in Dozon, *Contes albanais*, Paris, 1881, p. 21, quoted by Clouston, pp. 627 ff., and reprinted in Leskien, *Balkanmärchen*, no. 57), Serbian (*Archiv für slavische Philologie*, V, 1881, pp. 61 ff.), and Italian (D. Comparetti, *Novelline popolari italiane*, Torino, 1875, pp. 23 ff.; here the bird changes into a maiden). In a group of Hindu tales, the maiden is not the object of the Quest, but she is met with while the Quest is being pursued, and like Dalfadiane-Rosilia reveals the secret and marries the hero (L. B. Day, *Folk-Tales of Bengal*, pp. 236 ff., quoted by Clouston, pp. 640 ff., and by Cosquin, *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, II, 356; J. H. Knowles, *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, p. 397, quoted by Huet in *Rev. d'Ethn. et de Sociol.*, I, 213; *Indian Antiquary*, XXII, 1893, pp. 315 ff.). These are all variants which contain a Quest; of the variants without a Quest, one has a dove, changing into a maiden, as revealer of the secret; this is the Arabic tale quoted from Socin in the preceding note.

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hidden facts is a commonplace of the Arthurian and other late romances; and particular resemblances will be noted in a moment.

In short, the resemblance to the märchen is only general, probably not extending to any details. We are therefore ready to examine the episode for romantic sources.

Let us look first at the *serpentelîn*. It is a puzzling creature. When we first hear of it, in episode 14, its rôle seems to be that of a protector; giant Magros tells Phila that it is the serpent that prevents him from carrying off the maiden he is in love with:

1837 *se hât ein serpentelîn,*
dat is stark, schone unde fîn,
en dede dat, so wolde ik se mit walt
wol winnen, de junkvrowe balt.

Although we are not definitely told that this maiden and serpent are the same as those of the present episode, I think the identity may be assumed. If so, we are of course not dealing here with a chastity-preserving amulet, as Boje thought,[62] but with a real live serpent. The situation is clearly the common one wherein a lady is guarded by a dragon or other monster, and we should expect the hero, Valentin, to overcome the serpent and win the maiden. This is in fact what does happen, not in VN, but in VO, except that the serpent is replaced by the seneschal of the castle.[63] But in VN, what happens instead, when Valentin and Namelos approach the castle, is that the serpent courteously invites them to follow, and leads them in.[64] We thus find ourselves in the midst of a Guiding Beast story — Valentin is being led

[62] *Über Beuve de Hamtone*, p. 107.

[63] VO, ch. 23, discussed in Chapter V below.

[64] In the MHG., there is a hint of fighting; Namelos proposes that the serpent be killed, whereupon it begs for mercy (Seelmann, p. 96).

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into the other world to marry a fay,[65] just as Graelent for example, in the lay of that name, pursuing a white hind, met and loved a fairy lady in the forest.[66] Our author's originality consists in the fact that while we have guiding stags and hinds aplenty, nowhere else in medieval romance is there a guiding serpent.[67] And, while occasionally the guiding beast has been known to speak when overtaken,[68] it is only in VN that he speaks as soon as he is encountered.

But the versatile serpent now assumes a third rôle. While acting as guide, it nevertheless contrives to reach the castle in time to give Dalfadiane-Rosilia full information about Valentin and Namelos, their parentage and history, where their mother is, and how Namelos may be made to speak — all this before the brothers arrive. Having made these revelations, it goes on to state that it is fated to die if Valentin and Rosilia love each other; and in fact it does end its career, immediately after the appearance of the brothers, by bursting asunder like an egg.

[65] In the Dutch (fragment N III), Dalfadiane is in fact called a "goddess," like the Grail-maiden who gives Gawain useful advice in *Diu Crône*, 28402 ff. (for *goddess = fée*, cf. W. Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch* ², Stuttgart, 1900, p. 351, and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 2452, note).

[66] For the Guiding Beast, see *Vie de S. Gilles*, pp. lx ff.; G. H. Maynadier, *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, London, 1901, pp. 118 ff.; Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 128 ff.; H. Günter, *Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 55, 80 ff., and *Buddha in der abendländischen Legende*², Leipzig, 1922, p. 174; C. Pschmadt, *Die Sage von der verfolgten Hinde*, Greifswald, 1911; Bolte and Polívka, I, 432 ff., II, 335 ff.; M. B. Ogle, in *Amer. Journal of Philology*, XXXVII (1916), 387 ff.; A. C. L. Brown, in *MP*, XVII (1919), 379; E. Brugger, in *ZFSL*, XLIX (1926), 143.

[67] It was perhaps for this reason that the Swedish translator substituted a panther for the serpent. The only guiding serpent I have met with is in Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, VIII, viii, 3.

[68] In the Placidas and Julian legends, and the lay of *Guigemar*.

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"It may be conjectured (said Seelmann) [69] that the serpent is a transformed fay, who cannot resume her original shape until Valentin and Rosilia have found each other." Rather, the author has adapted here another motive, that of the enchanted maiden who can only be released by a kiss, and the serpent here is Rosilia herself. The adventure of the *fier baiser* in *Biaus Descouneüs* is a parallel:

Descouneüs, having vanquished two magicians in the Gaste Cité, sees a hideous serpent (*guivre*) coming towards him; it suddenly dashes at him, kisses him, and goes away. A voice then tells him who he is, and of what race — things which he had hitherto not known. Later, a lady appears, and tells him that she was the serpent, and that the kiss had released her from the spell.[70]

Another parallel is in *Tristan de Nanteuil:*

Tristan, at the castle of the fairy Gloriande, kills a serpent which changes into a man, and is told by the fairy who he is and where his parents are.[71]

In the *Lanzelet* of Ulrich von Zatzikhoven, the serpent, like ours, is vocal; it meets knights in the forest, and begs a kiss. Only Lanzelet, the best knight in the world, has the courage to grant its request, with the result that the serpent becomes a woman of matchless beauty.[72] Thus *Lanzelet* seems to have supplied the idea of the vocal serpent, and *Biaus Descouneüs* or *Tristan de Nanteuil* [73] the connection of

[69] P. lviii. [70] Lines 3114–3401.

[71] Meyer's analysis, p. 40. — In *Charles le Chauve* (the Dieudonné episode already referred to, note 44 above), there is also disenchantment, and revelation of identity by a fairy in a castle, but there is no serpent; cf. Rubke, *o. c.*, p. 46.

[72] Analysis, p. 193. The theme is widespread in ballad and folktale; examples are collected by F. J. Child, *The English and Scottish Ballads*, Boston, 1898, I, 307 ff., A. Mennung, *Der Bel Inconnu des Renaut de Beaujeu*, Halle, 1890, pp. 18–20, 67, and Bolte and Polívka, II, 271.

[73] *Tristan de Nanteuil*, however, is probably not a source of VN; see below, pp. 78, 112.

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serpent-disenchantment with revelation of the hero's identity by a maiden in a castle.

The bursting asunder of the serpent like an egg suggests still another romance motive, the Breaking or Fall of an Enchanted Object when the spell is removed. Thus in the prose *Lancelot*, we are told of a copper image at the castle of Dolorouse Garde:

en haut desus la porte. si auoit .j. cheualier forme de cueure et fu grans et corsus sor son cheual armes de toutes armes.... si estoit la sus drechies par enchantement. Et tant com il fust en estant nauoit garde li castiax destre conquis par nul homme. Mais si tost com il entroit dedens la premiere porte. qui le castel deuroit conquerre et il porroit le cheualier de cueure veoir. tantost carroit a terre et lors sen iroient tout li enchantement del chastel dont il estoit tous plains.[74]

It is at this castle too that Lancelot, after overcoming the enchantments, learns for the first time his name and lineage. The situation is thus very similar to that in VN, and the corresponding passage in VO (ch. 23) has actually a brazen head which falls. It would seem that the *Lancelot* passage is a source of both, but that VO has preserved a closer likeness to the source.

We have, therefore, in the episode of the serpent-castle, a striking instance of our author's eclectic method. His märchen source gave him the ground idea, revelation of identity by a talking bird; perhaps the märchen known to him had, instead of the bird, a maiden whom the hero married. But he turned to romantic models for the details, and in *Biaus Descouneüs* or a similar source he found the model for a scene of revelation. But this model scene involved Serpent-Disenchantment, which in turn suggested the vocal serpent of *Lanzelet*, the serpent as Protecting Monster, and

[74] I, 144. This story and its analogues are discussed in Chapter V below, in connection with the brazen head in VO, ch. 23.

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the Guiding Beast; and since he had thus made his serpent and his lady two instead of one, he used Breaking of Enchanted Object, from another revelation scene like that of *Lancelot*, to dispose of the superfluous serpent.

19. *The Second Rescue of Phila and Blandemer*

The brothers proceed to the river in which their mother is sitting; they reveal themselves, and invite her to come out of the water. She, however, warns them against the giant, who now appears, and a combat ensues. Namelos, using his ring and club, finally succeeds in striking off the giant's arm, thus depriving him of his magic ring; he then kills the giant with a blow on the head from the club. There is a joyful reunion of mother and children; the captives, including Blandemer, are released; and the four return to the castle of Dalfadiane-Rosilia (2367–2449).

This episode belongs here only in so far as it contains an essential element of the main story: the reunion of mother and children. In the märchen, it is usual for the mother to be imprisoned at home, hence the return and recognition of the children are followed as a matter of course by her release and reunion with them.[75] The circumstances have been altered in VN, inasmuch as the accused queen is sent traveling, and has fallen into misfortune away from home. The details are romantic, and, resulting as they do from previous adventures of Phila and Namelos, are best considered under those earlier episodes (14 and 15, in Chapters III and IV respectively).

21. *Reunion, Punishment of the Villain, Marriages*

Valentin marries Rosilia. (*Namelos returns unsuccessful from his expedition to rescue Rosemund; missing in all texts.*) All then go to

[75] In an Icelandic variant already quoted (note 60 above) the mother is placed in a lion's den, and the children are told of this by the talking bird, and set her free before they go home; the action thus (exceptionally) parallels our romance.

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Hungary and reveal the situation to Crisostomus (who is about to marry a second wife, Blandemee, N III). Frankhart is tried and put to death. Valentin, Namelos, Blandemer and Rosilia proceed to France, and tell the news to Pipping. (Pipping is dead; Clarina realizes that she cannot marry Valentin, since he is her cousin; *in version B only.*) Blandemer marries Clarina, and later is king of Spain (France, B), while Valentin later succeeded his uncle as king of France (succeeded his father, B) (2450–2532).

The circumstances of the final revelation are altered from the märchen, in accordance with romance convention; in place of the revelation by the talking bird, the king (or Clarina) is given a letter written by Rosilia which sets matters straight. The mother-in-law, who should have been punished here, is forgotten. Otherwise we have merely the necessary conclusion of the story. Those elements of the episode which are connected especially with Valentin or with Namelos alone are discussed in Chapter IV, under episodes 9 and 23.

A concluding word is in order as to the immediate source of the story. Certain names, to which no reference has yet been made, are obviously Greek — Crisostomus, Phila, Philomena (in the MHG. prose; Clarina elsewhere), Philomin, Lyca (in the Dutch only, episode 13, fragment N I), and perhaps giant Magros (Μακρός?).[76] This fact suggests the possibility of a Greek written source. On the other hand, the name Lyca occurs in a portion of the story which is without a doubt borrowed from French romantic sources; while the changes rung on Phila, Philomin, Philomena, indicate pretty clearly that the poet was trying to give his characters Greek names, but was hard put to it to find enough to go around. In the absence of any further evidence, therefore, we can only assume that the poet found, not in any written source, but in oral tradition, the märchen

[76] These are collected by Seelmann, p. xii.

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upon which his story is based. That this märchen was one of the Jealous Sisters type, is I think now evident; and I have endeavored in this chapter to show how the märchen story was remade after romantic models.[77]

[77] Nothing has been said regarding the names Dalfadiane and Bliademee, given only in fragment N III. The former looks like a combination of Delphi and Diana, due perhaps to some reminiscence of the Delphic oracle, and of the rôle of the priestess of Diana in *Apollonius of Tyre*, cap. 48. As to Bliademee, the best suggestion I can make is that it is an arbitrary formation after the model of Blioberis or a similar Arthurian name.

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CHAPTER III

VALENTIN UND NAMELOS: THE QUEEN IN EXILE

(Episodes 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 14)

The adventures in exile of Phila and her attendant Blandemer occupy more than one-third of the MLG. poem as we have it (903 of the 2646 lines). They fall of course outside of the märchen scheme, and the sources are entirely romantic.

6. *The Temptation*

Phila and Blandemer come at nightfall to a pavilion by a river where they find food and a bed; but when Phila calls on God and makes the sign of the cross, the devil appears and breaks everything to pieces; he intended to have put them both to shame, but had no power to do so, for they were both well-advised, and Blandemer was loyal to the lady (369–416).

The source is the temptation of Perceval, in the continuation by Manessier of the *Perceval* of Chrétien de Troyes:

Perceval, after having overcome the devil, first in the shape of a black hand, and then in the shape of a horse, is tempted by him in the likeness of his love Blanchefleur. The shape descends from a *naciele;* after the greeting, a pavilion is pitched, and they eat and drink. The supposed Blanchefleur then goes to bed, but as Perceval prepares to join her, he catches sight of the hilt of his sword, and this reminds him to make the sign of the cross; whereupon the devil jumps up, and

Pavillon et lit emporta —

and the knight, left alone, thanks God for his escape.[1]

[1] *Perceval,* Potvin, VI, 4 ff.

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In adapting the incident, since his temptress was already present in the person of the heroine, our author has made use of another situation from Arthurian romance, the Dangerous Meal — the hero finds a table spread, but no person to welcome him.[2] The whole occurrence (as remarked by Seelmann) [3] is without point in VN; and the episode must have been spoiled by a clumsy abbreviator. Probably the devil's intention was that Phila and Blandemer should drink too freely, and misbehave, as Perceval in the source is on the point of doing. But if so, the dénouement comes too soon, for the sign of the cross is made before they sit down to table, and before any tendency to misbehavior has been manifested. This is but one passage of several in which unintelligent abbreviation is apparent.[4]

Episodes 7, 8, and 12 are best considered as a group.

7. *The Rescue of Lyca*

Next day, they travel on, and Blandemer rescues the damsel Lyca (named only in N I) from the Black Knight, who is carrying her off by force (417–504).

[2] *Chevalier à la Charrette*, 993 ff.; *Perceval*, Potvin, III, 253 ff.; *Vengeance Raguidel*, 725 ff.; *Claris et Laris*, pp. 647 ff.; *Turk and Gawain*, p. 93; cf. G. L. Kittredge, *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*, Cambridge, 1916, p. 180.

[3] P. lvi.

[4] The episode is imitated by Manessier from *Queste del saint Graal*, pp. 108 ff., and is also imitated from *Queste* by Gerbert, *Perceval*, 621 ff., 2518 ff. (cf. A. Birch-Hirschfeld, *Die Sage vom Gral*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 120; R. Heinzel, *Über die fr. Gralromane*, in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, XL, 1891, p. 76; W. A. Nitze, *The Old French Grail Romance Perlesvaus*, Baltimore, 1902, p. 88). But Manessier rather than *Queste* or Gerbert is the source here. In *Queste*, the apparition comes in the morning, the tent is pitched about noon, and Perceval enters it to escape the heat, and takes a nap before the meal; while in Manessier as in VN, the time of day is clearly evening, and there is no nap. Gerbert lacks both pavilion and meal.

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8. *The False Palmer*

The three then meet a pilgrim by the wayside, who shares with them his meal. But, on learning that Blandemer has slain the Black Knight, the supposed pilgrim, in revenge, gives all three a sleeping-draught, and carries off Blandemer to the Black Knight's castle, where he remains in a dungeon, with other prisoners, for thirteen years. Meanwhile, the traitor returns for the ladies, but finds that they have fled, having been awakened by a leopard. They proceed to the court of Lyca's father (Saluber, N I),[5] the King of Araby, and there Phila remains for twelve years (505–658).

12. *The Rescue of Blandemer*

[Twelve years later, Valentin and Namelos having left Pipping's court together,] the brothers ride off, and a shepherd directs them to the castle of the "traitors." Some of the latter offer them the sleeping-draught, but, instead of accepting the draught, they kill the traitors. Those in the castle now release Blandemer from his dungeon in order that he may fight the strangers. Blandemer undertakes the combat unwillingly; taunted by Valentin, he reveals the true situation. The three join forces, Valentin and Namelos pretend to surrender, and the three thus gain entrance to the castle, kill the remaining traitors, release the prisoners, burn the castle, and travel on (1282–1479).

The central incident is the meeting with the narcotic-administering pilgrim. Turning again to *Sibille* (cf. episode 5), we find that the exiled queen and her attendant are attacked by a band of robbers, of whom one, Grimoart, possesses, not indeed a sleeping-draught, but a sleeping-charm, which he finds a useful adjunct in his profession; he does not, however, employ it upon the queen.[6] Common ele-

[5] The name is given in episode 13; it is Arthurian (Salubre, a heathen lady, *Perlesvaus*, p. 318; Salubres, a king of the Saxons, *Livre d'Artus*, pp. 89, 117, cf. Sommer, *Index*, s. v.).

[6] Spanish prose, cap. 30 ff.; French metrical fragments, *Macaire*, p. 308, and *Romania*, XLIV (1915–17), 1 ff. The chapter headings,

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ments in VN and *Sibille* are therefore: exiled queen and attendant, robber-band, sleeping-charm.

But a much closer parallel exists in the Italian *Bovo d'Antona*, 872–905 (repeated in *Reali di Francia*, II, 10). Here the hero is met by a "palmer," who shares with him bread and wine (cf. VN 509–10 *Rechte so ein pelegrîn. He hadde brôt unde wîn*). The palmer then gives Bovo a sleeping-draught, and makes off with his horse and sword. *Bovo* thus agrees with VN in all the main elements: meeting with pilgrim, sharing of meal (in which "bread and wine" are mentioned), sleeping-draught administered to the hero, theft committed while he sleeps.

Now, much discussion has raged over *Bovo* and its relations to the other versions of the *Bevis of Hampton* story. Pio Rajna maintained that *Bovo* represented the most primitive form of the story, while Stimming and others have regarded it as derived from the existing French versions.[7] And this incident of the palmer has been used as an argument in favor of the latter view. In the French versions, Bueve simply meets a friendly palmer, who feeds him; usually, the palmer offers to read the Uriah Letter which Bueve is carrying, and the offer is declined. Later, Bueve himself employs a sleeping-draught; and, on still another occasion, restores to

given by Gautier (*Epopées*, III, 701 ff.), of the unpublished French prose, indicate the presence of Grimoart, though they say nothing about the charm; so also in Albéric des Trois-Fontaines (*Macaire*, p. xii). The unpublished *Renier* has a thief Grymbert with a sleeping-charm (Analysis, p. 64); and Grimuwaert is chief of a robber-band in the Dutch *Huge van Bordeeus* fragments (Kalff, *Fragmenten*, pp. 229 ff.); these latter two are of course from *Sibille*.

[7] The matter will be found summed up in Stimming's last publication (A. Stimming, *Der festländische Bueve de Hantone, Fassung III., Band II: Einleitung, Entwicklungsgeschichte der Sage, Anmerkungen, Glossar und Namenverzeichnis*, Dresden, 1920: *Gesellschaft für rom. Lit.*, 42).

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a palmer the clothing which has been stolen from him by a band of robbers; or, finding a dead palmer, changes clothes with him. It has thus been argued [8] that the idea in *Bovo* of having the palmer administer a sleeping-draught and steal Bovo's property arose from a combination of hints from these various incidents in the French versions. But it has not been noted that we have in VN the exact counterpart of the *Bovo* situation, and that therefore the combination spoken of (if such it is) must have been made somewhere else before it was made in *Bovo;* borrowing of VN from *Bovo* being of course out of the question. The same criticism applies to the theory of Paetz [9] that the sleeping-draught was suggested by the statement in *Bueve II* and *III* that Bueve fell asleep after the palmer left him. Neither of these theories would have been proposed, had our romance received from scholars the attention it deserves.

Is, then, the source of this episode in VN to be sought in a lost French original of *Bovo?* Before replying, we have a third parallel to consider — the Italian prose *Fioravante.* And here the parallel extends to the entire group of episodes before us. The *Fioravante* passage is chapters 20–28; in *Reali di Francia,* II, 7–12. The numbers indicate the order of the incidents.

Fioravante	VN
1. The exiled Fioravante rescues Ulia, daughter of King Fiorio of Dardenna, from three Saracen robbers who are carrying her away (F. 20; R. II, 7).	1. The exiled Blandemer rescues Lyca, daughter of King Saluber of Araby, from the Black Knight who is carrying her away (episode 7).

[8] By G. Brockstedt, *Floovent-Studien,* I, Kiel, 1907, p. 41.

[9] H. Paetz, *Über das gegenseitige Verhältnis der venezianischen, der frankoitalienischen u. der französischen gereimten Fassungen des Bueve de Hantone,* Halle, 1913 (*Beihefte zur ZRP,* 50), p. 34.

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Fioravante	VN
2. The damsel declares she loves him;	2. The damsel remarks:
	487 *hadde gi nicht desse vrowe fîn,* *ik wolde denne juwe egen sîn;*
he will ask her father for her hand (*ibid.*).	to which B. replies encouragingly:
	498 *gi mogen noch wol de êrste sîn* (episode 7).
	(Wanting)
3. Fioravante fights and overcomes the giant Fernagu (F. 20, 23; R. II, 8),	5. B. is taken prisoner, and brought to the Black Knight's castle (episode 8).
4. but is taken prisoner, and brought to a ruined castle (F. 23; R. II, 8).	3. Blandemer, Phila and Lyca meet an adherent of the Black Knight (dressed as a pilgrim), who asks whether they have seen the B. K. On learning that B. has slain the B. K., (cont. 4 below)
5. Riccieri, in search of him, meets a survivor of the battle, and asks whether he has seen F. The Saracen, on learning that R. is in search of F., attacks him, and is slain (F. 24; R. II, 9).	8. Valentin and Namelos rescue Blandemer (episode 12).
6. Riccieri rescues Fioravante and Ulia (*ibid.*).	4. the supposed pilgrim gives all three a sleeping-draught,
7. The three then meet a "paltoniere" (wandering beggar), who gives the knight and his companion a sleeping-draught, steals their arms and clothing, and makes off with the lady (F. 25; R. II, 10).	and makes off with Blandemer (episode 8).
8. The knights are wakened through the working of a magic herb, pursue the villain, and rescue the lady (F. 26; R. II, 10).	6. The ladies are wakened by a leopard, and make their escape (episode 8).
9. All three reach the court of King Fiorio, to whom his	7. The ladies reach the court of King Saluber, to whom his

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Fioravante	VN
daughter recounts what has happened (F. 27; R. II, 12).	daughter recounts what has happened (episode 8).
	9. (Only in the MHG. prose, and at a later point in the story; see Analysis, episode 13.) The king thanks Blandemer, and remarks (his daughter being now dead) that, were she alive, Blandemer should have her.
10. The king offers his daughter to Fioravante as wife (F. 28; R. II, 12).	

Detailed resemblances, other than those indicated in the table, are in general lacking. Nevertheless, it seems to me impossible to deny that we have in this group of episodes in VN a reworking of the same story as that found in the corresponding portions of *Fioravante* and *Reali di Francia*. It is clear that the three versions must have a common source, which can only have been a French version of *Floovant*.[10]

The discovery has an application which lies beyond the present subject, but which should be pointed out. It was possible for Brockstedt and Paetz to ascribe the story of the False Palmer to a combination of hints from *Bueve* made by a Franco-Italian poet, because the French version of *Floovant* which has come down to us has a hiatus at this

[10] Only one objection may occur to the reader inspecting the table. The *Fioravante* palmer is not said to be a palmer at all, but a "paltoniere;" and the mention of "bread and wine," which we saw to be common to VN and *Bovo*, is missing in *Fioravante*. But these are omissions which might well have been made in the course of the process (whatever it was) by which *Fioravante* was evolved out of *Floovant*. The *Reali* account of the matter supplies both omissions; the individual is described as "un briccone ladrone, vestito come pellegrino," and is provided explicitly with "pane e vino." If, as Brockstedt believed (*o. c.*, pp. 62 ff.), the *Reali* episode rests upon a lost metrical *Fioravante*, these details may have been present there, and in the French.

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point, extending from the midst of the battle with Fernagu (incident 3 in our table) down past the end of our series of parallels. But there is nothing in the *Fioravante-Reali* story which is inconsistent with the story of the existing *Floovant;* nothing, therefore, which might not have been in this missing portion. In fact, the editors of *Floovant*, in their summary of the story, filled the gap from *Reali*.[11] The parallel with VN now proves that all these incidents did exist in some French version of *Floovant*, whether the one we have, or another which has been lost. Hence the story of the False Palmer in *Bovo* is the result, not of a combination originating in the *Bueve* tradition, but of a borrowing from the *Floovant* tradition; and the story (familiar in the later Italian epic) [12] is of French, not Franco-Italian origin.

The False Palmer is in fact merely a combination of two romantic commonplaces — Meeting with Palmer, and Sleeping-Draught; numerous examples of each separately being collected by Boje in his extremely useful book, *Über Beuve de Hamtone*, already cited here.[13] The *Floovant* poet made the

[11] *Floovant*, p. xx.

[12] Boiardo, *Orlando Innamorato*, I, xx ff.; Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, VIII, 44 ff.

[13] Meeting with Palmer, p. 86; Sleeping-Draught, p. 112. Since Boje collects only examples of sleep induced by a magic herb, the following sleeping-draughts may be added to his list:

1) *Deif van Brugghe*, a MLG. version of the Rhampsinit story (*gaza* in *Seven Sages*). The poem was referred to as a VN parallel by Seelmann, p. lx. Other versions of *gaza* in which the thief intoxicates or drugs the soldiers set to guard the headless body of his fellow are noted by Campbell, *Seven Sages of Rome*, p. lxxxviii; no other is recorded from medieval times.

2) *Huge van Bordeeus*, the fragmentary Dutch version of *Huon de Bordeaux* to which I have referred above (note 6); the episode here was thought by Kalff (*Fragmenten*, p. 227) to be perhaps borrowed from the Dutch VN. — A sleeping-draught is used to take Huge prisoner; certain of his men, and seven leopards which they are guarding, are

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combination. A third element, Meeting with Robber-Band, also a commonplace,[14] was combined in *Sibille*, as we have seen, with Sleeping-Charm; this was an easy step, as the sleeping-draught and sleeping-charm [15] were frequently used to facilitate robbery. The VN poet combined all three elements: Meeting with Palmer, Sleeping-Draught, and Meeting with Robber-Band. *Sibille*, which like VN deals with the adventures of an exiled queen, very probably supplied him with the first suggestion for the episode, which then developed into an imitation of *Floovant*.

Returning now to the comparison of VN and *Fioravante*, it should be noted how cleverly our author has adapted the story to his purpose, which is to prepare for the next episode by separating Phila and Blandemer and by providing Phila with a home and a female companion. All of his changes are made with this purpose in view. Particularly good is his use of the sleeping-draught — in *Fioravante* a totally useless incident — to bring about the necessary separation. The weak point in his story, the keeping of Blandemer in prison by the "traitors" for thirteen years without any clear object, is likewise due to the necessities of the plot: Valentin and Namelos must be given time in which to grow up.

The most notable differences are in episode 12, which

forgotten in the distribution (*ibid.*, p. 248). The mention of leopards strengthens the possibility of a connection with VN, in which a leopard awakens the sleeping ladies.

3) *Rigomer*, 10749 ff.

4) *Lancelot*, III, 215.

5) Eighteen stories from the *Arabian Nights* in which a herb *bendj*, taken in drink or otherwise, is used as a narcotic, are pointed out by V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, Leipzig and Liége, 1892–1922, V, 23.

[14] Boje, p. 103.

[15] Sleeping-charms, as distinguished from draughts, will come in for discussion in Chapter VI, in connection with VO, ch. 25.

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relates the deliverance of Blandemer by the two brothers. In *Fioravante* (incident 4), the hero and his lady are carried to a ruined castle, and are rescued soon after by Riccieri, without any particular difficulty. But in VN, Blandemer being obliged to remain in prison for thirteen years, the prison must obviously be in a reasonable state of repair, and this called for the invention of a plan whereby the prisoner might be released. The author has made use here of another Arthurian situation, the Evil Custom — a captured knight is obliged against his will to fight all who pass. Knights in this situation frequently discover that they have been fighting their best friends; [16] such is the case here also, and, although Blandemer's relation to the brothers is not yet made known, a friendship springs up as soon as he relates Phila's woes; Valentin feels great pity, and the poet remarks,

1426 *dar wrachte der naturen kraft*
unde der elementen macht,
wente it was de moder sîn.

This idea, that there exists a natural sympathy between members of the same family, even though their relationship is unknown, is very frequent in romances of separation; [17] our

[16] E. g., Balan in Malory, *Morte Darthur*, II, 18, and Bohort at the Tertre Deveé, prose *Lancelot*, III, 235 ff.

[17] As I have not met with any collection of examples, I subjoin a very partial and random one: Eustachius-Placidas legend, *Acta Sanctorum*, Sept., VI, 132; pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions*, VIII, 2 (ed. P. Lagarde, Leipzig, 1865); *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, 1431; Huth *Merlin*, II, 48; *Tristan*, Bédier, p. 10; *Dolopathos*, Hilka, p. 85, Brunet and Montaiglon, p. 338; *Béatrix*, pp. 21, 22; *Octavian*, 2996, 3155; *Florent et Octavian*, p. 304; *Geduldige Helene*, ch. 13; *Tristan de Nanteuil*, Meyer, p. 363; *Berte*, 1930; *Guy of Warwick*, MS. Auch., st. 114, MS. Camb., 11803; *Guillaume de Palerne*, 6367 (*William of Palerne*, 3709); *Mabinogion*, I, 201; *Amadis of Gaul*, III, 8; Calderon, *La Vida es Sueño*, I,

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author refers to it several times, in much the same words; [18] so does VO, in the passage corresponding to this (ch. 19), and elsewhere (ch. 12). But usually, this natural sympathy appears only when the persons affected are brought into each other's presence; in fact I do not know of another case where it acts at a distance, as here and in VO.

The stratagem by which the new allies take the castle has a parallel in *Simon de Pouille:*

The twelve peers fight the Saracen Synados, and convert him. He proposes that they shall pretend to surrender to him, thus gaining admission to the castle of Abilenc, where they shall accomplish the conversion of the garrison. Accordingly, they enter the castle; but the operation of the plan meets with difficulties.[19]

Finally, the Warning Shepherd whom the brothers meet as they approach the castle is part of the Evil Custom machinery; in the Gerbert *Perceval* (Potvin, VI, 251), there is a special resemblance in that the castle is inhabited by robbers, and is burned by the hero.

13. *The First Rescue of Phila*

At the court of the King of Araby is a traitorous steward, Gawin (Glutes, N I), who loves Phila (659–66), but, (*fragment N I begins here*) despairing of winning her love (repulsed by her, N I), tries instead to bring about her death. To this end he kills the king's daughter Lyca as she sleeps, and puts the knife into the hand of Phila, who is sleeping beside her. He then wakens the king, pretends that he has had a bad dream about Lyca, and suggests that

413; Sheridan, *Critic*, III, 1; Jane Austen, *Love and Freindship*, London, 1922, pp. 21, 22 (Sheridan and Jane Austen use the idea for comic effect); Arnold, *Sohrab and Rustum* (*Poems*, Everyman, pp. 142, 155, 158, 161). Chauvin, *o. c.*, V, 13, gives examples mainly from the *Arabian Nights*, other Eastern tales, and folk-tales. Cf. C. H. Bell, "The Call of the Blood in the Mediaeval German Epic," *MLN*, XXXVII (1922), 17 ff.; VN is quoted on p. 19.

[18] Besides this passage, at lines 1136, 1472, 1619, 1783, and 2069.

[19] Analysis, pp. lxxxiv ff.

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they go and see whether all is well. (Instead, the king himself actually has a bad dream, N I.) The murder is thus discovered, and Phila is accused and brought to judgment (*fragment N I breaks off*); a fire is built, and she is condemned to be burnt.

Meanwhile, Blandemer, seeking his lady, has led Valentin and Namelos to the court of Araby.[20] The three come riding by, Blandemer recognizes Phila, and Valentin, urged by the "force of nature," offers to fight as her champion. This is agreed to, after an attack upon the three heroes by the king's men has been repulsed with great slaughter. Namelos and Blandemer are shut up in a tower, lest they should interfere with the combat. Valentin vanquishes the traitor Gawin; but the latter's friends, who have been watching in ambush, rush in and attack Valentin. Namelos, seeing this, breaks down the door of the tower, and he and Blandemer come to Valentin's assistance. A general mêlée ensues, in which the three heroes do so valiantly that at last the king begs them to have mercy. Gawin, after confessing his treason, is dragged through the streets and boiled in pitch, sulphur and wax. (The king thanks Blandemer for having rescued his daughter (episode 7), and remarks that, had she lived, Blandemer should have married her; *in version B only*.) Despite the king's entreaties, all four of the principal characters then leave court; at a cross-roads, they separate, Phila and Blandemer going one way, Valentin and Namelos another (1480–1785).

It will be observed that the end of this episode leaves us practically where we were at the beginning of the previous one; Phila and Blandemer are again wandering together in exile, and no recognition has been brought about. The two episodes thus go together, one prepares for the other, and their total effect is to account for the time during which Valentin and Namelos are growing to manhood; though episode 14 alone would have been sufficient perhaps for this purpose.[21]

[20] Blandemer in fact has told them that she is there, although we do not know how he learned it.

[21] The author of VO accounts for the time by a modification of episode 14 (ch. 6) with a slight reminiscence of episode 12 (ch. 19); he remodels the present episode to suit another purpose (chs. 33, 34).

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The episode consists of three parts, which we may call False Accusation, Rescue at the Stake, and Judicial Combat Interrupted.

The False Accusation was doubtless suggested by the main story itself, in which Phila has already been accused of the murder of her new-born babes (episode 5). Here she is a second time falsely accused of a similar crime, the murder of her bed-fellow Lyca. And it is the children whom she was accused of murdering who now, grown to manhood, rescue her from the consequences of the second false accusation, although they do not yet know that she is their mother; a striking situation, and one I think original with our author.

The circumstances of this second false accusation show it to be a borrowing from the widespread story which is usually called "Crescentia," after one of its forms;[22] the versions of the complete story being divided by Wallensköld, who has most thoroughly studied the matter,[23] into these groups: *Florence de Rome*,[24] *Gesta Romanorum*, *Miracle*, *Crescentia* proper, *Hildegarde*, and Oriental.[25] The episode which con-

[22] Literature in Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England*, pp. 12 ff.; a few additional references will be found in R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, Weimar, 1898, I, 582; Chauvin, *Bibl. des ouvr. arabes*, VI, 167; Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, I, 18 ff. Recently published versions are: R. W. Tryon, "Miracles of Our Lady," *PMLA*, XXXVIII (1923), 346, 369; M. Gaster, *The Exempla of the Rabbis*, London and Leipzig, 1924, cap. 313.

[23] Introduction to edition of *Florence de Rome*, ch. 7: "Histoire du conte de la femme chaste convoitée par son beau-frére."

[24] In the *chanson Florence de Rome*, the episode begins at line 4411.

[25] To these should be added an episode of the Middle Dutch *Seghelijn van Jerusalem* (ed. Verdam, Leiden, 1878, pp. 94 ff., pointed out by Miss Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance*, p. 112). I have been unable to consult the text, but Miss Schlauch has kindly allowed me the use of her notes on the romance.

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cerns us is the second of three in the complete story, and runs thus:[26]

The heroine (having been placed by her brother-in-law, after his unsuccessful attempt upon her honor, in grave danger of death) is rescued by a kind-hearted stranger, who takes her to his house and entrusts his child to her care. A member of the household falls in love with her, is repulsed, kills the child, and accuses the heroine of the murder. She is sent away, and again exposed to almost certain death.

But the episode also occurs, more or less altered, apart from the rest of the Crescentia story, and in combination with the stories of other persecuted heroines. These comprise: the Constance story, in Trivet's *Chronicle*, Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale;*[27] the *Rappresentazione di Santa Uliva;*[28] Straparola's fourth story of the first *Night* (*Tebaldo and Doralice*); *Berte*, 403 ff.;[29] *Roman de la Violette*, pp. 189 ff., 239 ff.; *Tristan de Nanteuil* (Meyer's analysis, pp. 19–20); VN; and a group of folk-tales.[30]

Despite the wealth of material, the determination of VN sources is an easy matter. Examining the various forms of the story for incidents characteristic of VN, we observe:

[26] I quote approximately A. Mussafia, in *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad., Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, LI (1866), 660.

[27] E. Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, New York, 1908, pp. 281 ff.; Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance*, pp. 132 ff.

[28] A. d'Ancona, *Sacre Rappr. dei Secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, Firenze, 1872, III, 262 ff.; cf. H. Suchier, *Oeuvres poétiques de Beaumanoir*, Paris, 1884–85, I, xlvi ff.

[29] J. Reinhold, in *ZRP*, XXXV (1911), 25, 136, 147, discusses this incident, but fails to note its relation to the Crescentia story.

[30] Collected by S. Stevanović in *Anglia*, XXXV (1912), 483 ff.; cf. G. Paris in *Romania*, XXXII (1903), 497. — I have thought it worth while to make this list, as the information is not elsewhere collected, and a little of it is new.

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The victim is the host's daughter: *Florence, Gesta,* a few folk-tales.

The assassin is a seneschal: *Gesta, Crescentia,* a few folk-tales.[31]

The heroine, in repulsing his attentions, has knocked out some of his teeth: *Florence, Violette.*

He places the bloody knife in her hand: *Florence, Violette, Gesta, Miracle, Berte.*

The host has a warning dream (VN, N I): *Florence.*

The assassin wakes the host: *Crescentia.*[32]

The heroine is taunted with her unknown past: *Florence, Miracle.*

She is condemned to the stake: *Florence, Violette, Tristan, Seghelijn.*

She is rescued by judicial combat: *Violette, Tristan, Seghelijn.*

The combat is interrupted: *Tristan, Seghelijn.*

It is evident that the characteristic peculiarities of our version place it in a group with *Florence de Rome, Roman de la Violette, Tristan de Nanteuil,* and *Seghelijn van Jerusalem;* which is after all just what we should expect, since these are the other romantic versions of the episode. It is evident, too, that the resemblances to *Florence* are the most significant; note that only *Florence* has the host's warning dream, as in VN, N I (in the other VN versions, it is the assassin who *pretends* to have had a bad dream, as an excuse for waking the king; the change is more evidence that the other versions are the result of revision of the version represented by the Dutch).[33]

A peculiarity in the conduct of the story points, further, to the use of the fourteenth-century *Florence* version printed by Wallensköld as an Appendix to his Volume I.[34] In this version, lines 2850–58 tell us of the villain Macaire and his

[31] But the wicked seneschal is a commonplace (cf. Schlauch, *o. c.*, pp. 98 ff.).

[32] This of course follows naturally from his office as seneschal.

[33] See below, p. 155.

[34] The version is assigned by Wallensköld, I, 114, to the first half of the fourteenth century.

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love for Florence, then we turn to other matters, and only resume the story of Macaire and Florence at line 3368. The same thing is done in VN; Gawin and his love for Phila are mentioned in lines 659–66, and that thread of the story is then dropped, to be resumed at line 1480. Other minor similarities point in the same direction:

(1) 3471 *. . . je ne say nul honme . . .*
qui em portast de moy valissant un denier.

N I, 20 *ic ne wetene niet . . .*
die [ic] minnen zoude sekerlike.

(2) the villain succeeds in kissing the lady:

3478 *non pour quant fist sa bouche a le soie touchier.*

N I, 11 *ende kussetse, al waest haer leed.*

(3) 3483 *deus dens li a fait en sa bouche brisier.*

N I, 13 *ende sloughenne so onder die kaken,*
dat hem iij tanden int hooft braken.

(4) he threatens her:

3495 *si m'as fait grant despit, que ne puis amender* [35]
. . .
en ycelle maniere jou en volray jouer
que pour faire vo corps ardoir et enbrazer.

N I, 36 *ghi hebt mi tebroken drie tanden;*
ic saelt up uwen lachame wreken.

(5) on being awakened,

3603 *a ycelle parolle s'est li sires viestis.*

N I, 102 *die coninc cleet hem . . .*

[35] Dentistry being then in a rudimentary state.

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(6) the lady is accused of a previous career of crime:

3644 *ch'estoit unne putain a tous habandonnee,*
elle a maint mourdre fait a val par la contree,
mainte creature a esté par li navree.

N I, 31 *ay, felle vrouwe putertiere,*
men mach wel zien an uwe maniere,
det ghi fel sijt ende quaet!
ende het es al bi uwer ondaet
dat ghi verdreven sijt uten lande.

VN 1536 *gi weren to vorgeves nicht*
vordreven, des bin ik bericht! [36]

(7) 3751 *folle, ce dist Thieris, conment osas pensser*
de Biautris me fille n'ochire ne thuer?

N I, 132 *ach aerme, hoe mochte soe doen hit*
dat soe Lica wilde ontliven?

(8) 3755 *bien voy que je ne puis de la mort escapper.*

N I, 138 *want ic weet wel, ic bem doot.*

None of these resemblances (except the tooth incident) is in the older *Florence*, where the closest verbal resemblance is:

[36] This trait is found in no other *Florence* version, but does occur (as noted in the table above) in versions of the *Miracle* group, *e. g.*, Vincent de Beauvais (quoted in Massmann, *Kaiserchronik*, III, 900): *adduxisti huc meretricem in multis criminibus in alia patria judicatam interfici;* and Gautier de Coinci (M. Méon, *Nouveau recueil de fabliaux et contes*, Paris, 1823, II, 52):

larrenesse, fet-il, murtriere,
bien pert qu'avez esté corsiere,
et mainte goule avez coupée,
mainte yglise arse et desrobée,
maint murtre fet et mainz malices.

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4722 *si ait merci de m'arme, car li cors est periz.*

N I, 159 *god here! ghi moet mine ziele ontfaen!*
tleven es met mi ghedaen.[37]

Since this Crescentia episode is almost the only place in which we are in a position to compare the full Dutch version with its sources, it has seemed worth while to be generous with parallels.

As for *Violette*, which like VN borrows from *Florence:*[38] the combination of Crescentia Accusation with Rescue from the Stake by Combat is the only point in which VN resembles *Violette* and not *Florence* also, but it seems sufficient to justify the conclusion that the author of VN knew and used *Violette*, although verbal parallels are few.[39] *Tristan* makes the same combination, but is so much altered in details that it is impossible to regard it as a source of VN:

[37] A commonplace, cf. *Aliscans*, 5378: *Diex penst de l'ame, car li cors est finés.*

[38] Cf. Wallenskõld, *o. c.*, I, 100. *Violette* was indicated as a VN source by Seelmann, p. lix.

[39] *Vi.* 3958 *molt fu fel*, N I, 8 *een fel verrader; Vi.* 3986 *Si l'a féru en mi les dens Que en la bouche là dedens L'en abati ou trois ou quatre*, cf. 3) under *Florence; Vi.* 4003 *il a pris .j. coutiel ameure*, N I, 77 *in siin hant nam hi enen cniif; Vi.* 5168 *Fors de la vile en mi .j. plain Voient alumé .j. grant fu*, VN 1557 *in einen vûr. Dat wart gemaket al ungehûr Up einen plân vor de stat* (so in the Spanish *Florencia*, in J. Amador de los Rios, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1861–65, V, 448: *fezieron muy grant fuego fuera del muro en un canpo*); *Vi.* 5333 *Sire Dex, com jou ai dit voir Puissiés-vous m'ame rechevoir*, VN 1568 *Got mote mine sele untfân Went ik nicht weit van desser dât; Vi.* 5654 *Et Euriaus s'est revestie C'on li ot ses dras apportés*, VN 1610 *Des wart de eddele vrowe gemeit Unde nam ere kleder wedder* (cf. *Perceval*, 37865 *Maintenant fisent la pucele Vestir; Doon de Maience*, p. 37, *A la dame coururent . . . si li ont afublé Un moult riche mantel;* Malory, *Morte Darthur*, XX, 8, *Thenne he rode streyghte vnto dame Gueneuer and maade a kyrtyl and a gowne to be cast vpon her*).

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Galafre is untrue to his ally the Soudan; Aiglentine (who has previously been wooed in vain by Galafre) learns of this, and informs the Soudan's wife. The latter threatens Galafre with exposure. Frightened, Galafre resolves to kill her. He stabs her to death by night, leaving the knife in the wound; Aiglentine, who sleeps beside her, is accused. She sends for her husband Gui (who is in prison) to defend her. Galafre, vanquished in the combat, blows a horn, and his friends, who have been waiting in ambush, carry him off.

Tristan clearly uses *Violette* (the rescue in each is by the heroine's husband or *ami*), and, alone among versions of the episode, agrees with VN in combining the Crescentia Accusation with Rescue from the Stake by a Judicial Combat which is Interrupted. Since it cannot be a source of VN, either the correspondence is due to chance or use of lost sources, or else VN is a source of *Tristan*. In Chapter IV, the latter relation will be shown to be probable.

Seghelijn too has the Rescue from the Stake and the Interrupted Combat, but in altered form: the combat is interrupted by the Duke, who imposes a sentence of exile; this seems to be due to a combination from two stories like *Violette* and *Sibille*, and does not necessarily indicate any relation to VN.

The second and third parts of our episode, Rescue at the Stake, and Judicial Combat Interrupted (that is, unlawfully interrupted by the friends of the champion who is getting the worse), taken separately, are commonplaces;[40] but cer-

[40] Rescue at the Stake. — Boje, *Über Beuve de Hamtone*, p. 116, notes occurrences in *Bueve*, *Loher und Maller*, Harleian *Morte Arthur*, *Claris et Laris*, and *Yvain*, besides those discussed in the text, and *Doon de Maience*, *Béatrix*, and *Isomberte*, discussed in Chapter IV below (p. 128); to which should be added *Orson de Beauvais*, 2022 ff. (W. Förster, "Der Feuertod als Strafe in der af. erz. Dichtung," in *Studien zur engl. Philologie*, L, 1913, p. 184); *Lancelot*, II, 280, III, 162; and Manessier *Perceval*, 37768 ff. (Stimming, in note to *Bueve II*, 1320)

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tain features of each have an interest in relation to the curiously complex character of Namelos, and will therefore come up for discussion again in Chapter IV.

To sum up: episode 13 consists of three parts: (1) Crescentia Accusation, (2) Rescue at the Stake, (3) Judicial Combat Interrupted. (1) is a borrowing from the Crescentia story, and follows in the main *Florence de Rome*, particularly the fourteenth-century version of that romance. The combination of (1) and (2) indicates use of *Roman de la Violette;* and the combination of (1), (2) and (3), peculiar to VN, *Tristan de Nanteuil*, and *Seghelijn van Jerusalem*, indicates some relation between VN and *Tristan*, concerning which further evidence will be examined in Chapter IV; but it is clear that *Tristan* is not a source of VN. In Chapter IV

To Boje's reference to the Harleian *Morte Arthur* for Guinevere's rescue from the stake, add *Mort Artu*, ed. Sommer, p. 280, ed. Bruce, p. 282; Malory, *Morte Darthur*, XX, 8; cf. J. D. Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, Göttingen and Baltimore, 1923 (*Hesperia, Ergänzungsreihe*, VIII, IX), I, 437.

Judicial Combat Interrupted. — I have not found any good collection of examples. M. Pfeffer, "Die Formalitäten des gottesgerichtlichen Zweikampfs," in *ZRP*, IX (1885), 1 ff., gives a few on p. 56; R. Heinzel, *Über die ostgothische Heldensage* (*Sitzungsber. der Wiener Akad., Phil.-Hist. Kl*, CXIX, 1889), p. 79, and O. Leibecke, *Der verabredete Zweikampf in der af. Litt.*, Göttingen, 1905, pp. 83 ff., give instances of interrupted single combats, and some of these are also judicial combats; Boje, *l. c.*, collects rescues at the stake, but gives no particular attention to the Interrupted Combat. From these sources and from chance reading, I compile the following list of Judicial Combats Interrupted (including those whose interruption is prepared for but not consummated): *Karl Mainet*, p. 423; *Galien*, p. 310; *Gaydon*, 6787; *Sevilla*, p. 515; *Doon de Maience*, pp. 152, 157; *Aye d'Avignon*, p. 20; *Gui de Nanteuil*, p. 28; *Tristan de Nanteuil*, cf. text; *Renaus de Montauban*, p. 435; *Girbert de Metz*, p. 268; *Bueve de Hantone*, see Ch. IV below, p. 130; *Bauduin de Sebourc*, XXIV, 802; *Orson de Beauvais*, 3680; *Garin de Monglane*, MS. N, Rudolph, p. 11; *Gilles de Trasignies*, p. 157.

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also, certain features of (2) and (3) having to do especially with Namelos will come up for further discussion.

The Parting at the Crossroads, with which the episode closes, is another of the many Arthurian touches in this section of the romance.

14. *Giant Magros*

Phila and Blandemer reach the castle of giant Magros (Madageer, N III, episode 19), who seizes and imprisons them, explaining at the same time his reasons for so doing. He is in love with a maiden, who, however, does not care for him, and, because she possesses a "serpentelin," he cannot take her by force.[41] Hence he is determined to make things unpleasant for everybody. All knights who fall into his hands are imprisoned, and all ladies are obliged to undergo the "torture of the river," which consists in sitting in a river daily from morning to noon; when this daily task is done, the giant and his guests of both sexes dine together. At one of these noonday gatherings, the giant remarks on Phila's lack of appetite, attributes it to her being in love, and again alludes to his own hopeless passion. Phila replies with words of sympathy, which cause the giant great joy, and, as a reward, he excuses the lady from the torture three days per week. Thus matters stand for a year (1786–1886).

This is the most curious episode of the entire romance, and the only light thrown on it by any previous writer is Seelmann's remark: "Washing was considered one of the lowest forms of labor." [42] Now, it is quite clearly not washing, nor anything else practically useful, that the ladies do; they merely sit in the river. However, they do perform the task regularly, day by day, at definite hours; and it is therefore not unlikely that some story in which the unfortunate heroine does washing may have been in the author's mind, and have influenced his presentation of the matter. Since after all we

[41] For the "serpentelin" see discussion of episode 18, Chapter II.
[42] Seelmann, p. 130.

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are dealing with a German text, it is natural to compare the MHG. *Kudrun*, a poem of the thirteenth century:

Kudrun, in captivity, is forced to do washing daily by the seashore, because she refuses to marry Hartmut. After thirteen years of this, an expedition comes to rescue her. Her brother Ortwin and her fiancé Herwig find her, with her companion Hildeburg, washing on the shore. There follows a scene of recognition.[43]

With the situation in the recognition scene (*Kudrun*, stanzas 1207 ff.) we may compare Valentin and Namelos calling to their mother to come out of the "bath" (VN, episode 19). The mother is fearful about complying:

2385 *der moder wart lêf unde leide,*
se vruchtede den dôt der kindere beide
unde sprak 'leven kindere mîn,
ik en dor nicht bi ju sîn,
hîr kumpt snel ein rese grôt,
de uns allen mach dôn den dôt.'

Similar fears are expressed by the two ladies in *Kudrun:*

1225 *. . . wir müezen scheiden hinnen.*
siht man uns bi iu beiden, daz ist mir leit von allen minen sinnen;

and:

1223 *. . . wir haben ein meisterinne,*
ez kumt uns niht vergebene, siht si uns mit iu sprechen ab der zinne.

Such fears are of course a commonplace in rescue stories; and the two scenes are very different in other respects. But perhaps it is not too much to say that *Kudrun* may have influenced our Dutch and German versions of VN in the two particulars we have touched on: the confining of the ladies' daily activity to definite hours as if it were indeed

[43] *Kudrun*, stanzas 951 ff.

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something useful, and the scene of recognition in episode 19. The existence of a Kudrun tradition in the Netherlands is testified to by the localization of the story at Wülpensand, an island at the mouth of the Scheldt.[44] To such tradition, or to knowledge of the MHG. poem itself, we may refer these reminiscences, if such they are.

But *Kudrun* can hardly have influenced the French original of VN; and we have still to explain why the ladies are sitting in the river.[45]

A more hopeful clue is supplied by Dutch fragment N III, which opens in the midst of the fight between the brothers and the giant (episode 19). The clue is the name of the giant — Madageer. *Madelgêr* is a name not unknown to Germanic story,[46] and this fact explains the form of our giant's name. But in his actions, Madageer is no Germanic Madelgêr; he is the Arthurian villain Maduc:

Vengeance Raguidel (713–1442). — Maduc le Noir has the custom of keeping a table constantly spread in his castle, and of surprising his guests as they eat, beheading them, and placing their heads on stakes on the battlements. Overcome by Gawain, he explains why

[44] Cf. te Winkel, in Paul's *Grundriss* ², II, i, 421, and K. E. Freitag, in *Neophilologus*, XI (1926), 256 ff.

[45] Even less helpful are the Lost Sister or *Südeli* ballads in which Panzer found the source of this portion of the Kudrun story (F. Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, Halle, 1901, pp. 399 ff.). Other stories in which the heroine does washing are: a fourteenth-century French life of St. Eustache (*Studi Medievali*, III, 1908–11, p. 437); a related medieval Jewish story (*ibid.*, p. 184 n. 2, and A. d'Ancona, *Poemetti popolari italiani*, Bologna, 1889, p. 419); an Italian Crescentia variant (Mussafia, *o. c.*, p. 630); *Belle Hélène* (Analysis, pp. 75, 81, 140).

[46] It designates: (1) the father of the hero Heimo, according to some accounts; (2) in *Morolt*, a dwarf, son of a sea-wife, who possesses a "nebelkappe"; (3) a smith, in the *Rolandslied;* (4) a plant, *basilicum*, said in the OHG. glosses to possess healing properties (J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, Gutersloh, n. d., pp. 321, 1011; cf. W. Benary, in *Beihefte zur ZRP*, XL, 1912, p. 49).

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he has done so. He loved the damsel of Gaut Destroit; but, at a tournament, Gawain had overcome Maduc, and thereby gained the damsel's love, although he failed to return it. Maduc therefore kills all his guests, in the hope that, by continuing the practice long enough, he will some day kill Gawain (whom he does not know); if he kills Gawain, he is sure that the damsel will love him again.[47]

Thus Maduc, like Madageer, avenges his disappointment in love upon innocent passers-by, although not in the same way. His conduct evinces at least a glimmering of reason — and, of course, he attained his end, to the extent at least that Gawain did eventually appear. The author of VN has extinguished this glimmering of reason by combining Maduc's disappointment in love and his waylaying of passers-by with another story, which we may call the Lady in the Water:[48]

Atre Perillos ("interpolation" in MS. N[2], lines 1–595; printed by W. v. Zingerle, *ZFSL*, XXXVI[1], 1910, pp. 278 ff.). — Brun sans Pité, King of the Rouge Cité, has asserted that there is no knight in Arthur's realm whom he cannot conquer. His *amie* has been foolish enough to express the opinion that he is mistaken. He therefore obliges her to immerse herself up to the waist, naked, in a fountain just outside the city, four days per week, until sundown; he remains in the neighborhood, armed in red armor, and fights all knights who pass. This has gone on for more than three years, and he has killed fifty-four kings and counts, and has affixed their heads to stakes beside the fountain; there is always one fresh stake awaiting the next victim. Gawain, who is traveling incognito as

[47] The same account is given in Dutch *Lancelot*, III, 11467 ff. In *Livre d'Artus*, pp. 73, 143, Maduc acts in the same way, but merely out of enmity to the knights of Arthur's court.

[48] I combine here the collections of W. v. Zingerle, in *Philologische u. volkskundliche Arbeiten K. Vollmöller . . . dargeboten*, Erlangen, 1908, pp. 173 ff.; M. Klose, *Der Roman von Claris und Laris*, Halle, 1916 (*Beihefte zur ZRP*, LXIII), pp. 285 ff.; and L. F. H. Lowe, *Gérard de Nevers*, Princeton and Paris, 1923 (*Elliott Monographs*, XIII), pp. 55 ff. Each of these writers seems to have worked independently, and none of them mentions VN, or the Grail castle scenes to be discussed below.

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the Chevalier sans Nom, arrives at the place, learns of the situation, orders the damsel out of the fountain, fights with Brun, and compels him to beg for mercy, which is granted on his agreeing to surrender himself as prisoner to Arthur and the queen.

Dutch *Lancelot* (III, 18826–19106).[49] — Gawain comes to a castle, where he sees many heads on stakes. He also observes near by a very deep stone well (*borne*) wherein is sitting a beautiful lady, enduring great torment. She explains that she was asked by her lover, Morilagan de la Swerte Montanie, whether she knew of any man so handsome or so good a knight as he. She replied that Gawain was much handsomer and a much better knight. So he put her in the well, saying that she must stay there until Gawain shall release her. The heads on stakes are those of knights who have tried in vain to rescue the lady. Gawain takes her out, and rides off. He is overtaken successively by the White Knight, the Red Knight (nephews of Morilagan) and Morilagan himself; the first two he kills, the third he overcomes.

Gérard de Nevers (part 2, chs. 8, 9, and from the MSS. in Lowe, *Gérard de Nevers*, pp. 55 ff.). — Gérard finds a maiden sitting in a fountain, up to her neck in water. She relates that she loved a knight, and he her, but one day he asked her if there was a knight in the world more brave, handsome, courteous, wise and well-spoken than himself. She replied that the only such she knew of was Gérard. Angered at this, he placed her naked in the fountain, and she must remain there for one hour each day until Gérard shall deliver her. The knight, Baudrain d'Apremont, then appears; Gérard fights and kills him, and takes the lady out of the fountain.

Gerbert *Perceval* (I am obliged to use the summary of Potvin, VI, 251). — Perceval is called upon to avenge two damsels. "La première pucelle a eu l'imprudence de faire à son chevalier l'éloge de Perceval:

> Et tantost que il m'a oïe,
> Le feri al cuer jalousie.

Donc, le jaloux l'a jetée nue dans une fontaine. Mais Perceval triomphe du jaloux et le rend à ses devoirs."

[49] This is the portion of the *Lancelot* called by G. Paris *Gauvain et Keu* (*Hist. litt. de la France*, XXX, 1888, pp. 84 ff.). Lowe, *o. c.*, p. 62, quotes the episode from a summary in Jonckbloet, *Walewein*, II, 119–20, and erroneously believes it to be an episode of *Walewein*.

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The four stories above (here for the first time brought together) are evidently identical in all but minor details. Somewhat different are the two following:

Claris et Laris (21500–21692). — Gaheriet meets a maiden who is traveling to Arthur's court, to seek help for her mistress, whom her lord through groundless jealousy has put into a cold fountain up to the waist, and walled her in, there to remain until a knight shall defeat him. Gaheriet repairs to the place, overcomes the jealous husband, and reconciles him with his wife.

Perlesvaus (pp. 48–52). — Gawain spends the night at the castle of Marine le Jalous. A dwarf seeks the absent Marine and slanders Gawain and the lady. The latter, noting and interpreting the dwarf's absence, asks Gawain to remain at hand to defend her. Marine returns home, carries his wife into the forest, places her in a fountain of very cold water, and beats her with rods. Gawain appears; Marine proposes a combat to determine whether the lady is guilty. Gawain accepts the proposal, and meanwhile the lady is allowed to come out of the water. But as Gawain prepares to attack him, Marine suddenly slays his lady, and gallops off. Gawain leaves the corpse in a chapel.

It is apparent that *Claris* and *Perlesvaus* present versions of the story which are derived from the version common to *Atre Perillos*, *Lancelot*, *Gérard*, and *Perceval*. Comparing VN with all six versions of the Lady in the Water story, we note that VN agrees with *Atre Perillos* alone in two respects: the confining of the punishment to four days per week; and the name, or lack of name, of the delivering knight — for it is Namelos who rescues his mother (episode 19). Since detailed resemblances to the other versions are lacking, we may therefore say that VN is most closely allied to *Atre Perillos*.

It would appear, then, that our author had combined the Lady in the Water story from *Atre Perillos*, or a source much like it, with the Maduc story from *Vengeance Raguidel* or elsewhere — both are stories of disappointed lovers seeking revenge — and, with considerable misplaced ingenuity, had adapted the result to his own story. Phila and Blandemer

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(thought he) must be placed in one more dangerous situation, before being finally rescued. Let them meet a giant who, like Maduc, is disappointed in love — he is in love, in fact, with the maiden of the serpent-castle, whom the reader will have to meet in episode 18; let the giant, like Maduc, take revenge on innocent passers-by; and let his revenge be that of the disappointed lover in this other story — namely, the placing of a Lady in the Water. That the lady placed in the water is not the object of the giant's love, is of course what makes her situation, already absurd enough in the source, quite incomprehensible to us. But our author was adapting, as best he could, these stories which had interested him. And he enjoyed the result so much that he added on his own account the unnecessary incident at dinner: Phila's words of sympathy with the giant, and the resultant lightening of her punishment.

But was the author of VN the first to connect Maduc with the Lady in the Water? I believe not; and for the suggestion of the relation between the two stories, I am indebted to Lowe's recent study of *Gérard de Nevers*, already cited. Lowe pointed out (p. 63) that the incidents which follow respectively the Maduc story in *Vengeance Raguidel* and the Lady in the Water story in *Gérard de Nevers*, both contain what he calls the motif of "the damsel's fickleness": when the fighting is over, the damsel involved tries to have Gawain (in one case) or Gérard (in the other) beheaded. Lowe did not know of the *Atre Perillos* and *Perceval* passages, and failed to consult *Lancelot* and *Perlesvaus*, else he would have noted similar incidents there also. I give, therefore, the incidents which follow those already quoted, in these six romances:

Vengeance Raguidel (1543-2381). — Gawain and Maduc meet the damsel's people hunting; Gawain (who is unknown to them) accepts their invitation to visit the damsel. The latter, in order to attract

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Gawain to her castle, has imprisoned his brother Gaheriet. She now leads Gawain (whom she does not know) into a rich chapel, and exhibits to him a sort of guillotine device, explaining that if Gawain ever appears she will behead him, because he has scorned her love; she will then kill herself, and she has prepared a tomb in the chapel to receive the two bodies.[50]

Perlesvaus (pp. 55–56; I pass over the meetings with the Couart Chevalier, the Parti Chevalier, and the knight who has tried to bury the body of the murdered lady, pp. 52–55). — Gawain reaches the castle of the Orgeuleuse Pucelle, who leads him into a rich chapel and exhibits three guillotines, intended for Gawain, Lancelot, and Perceval, because she cannot have joy of them during their lives; there are four *sarceus*, naturally.

This parallel between *Vengeance Raguidel* and *Perlesvaus* was noted by Nitze, and explained as a borrowing of *Perlesvaus* from *Vengeance* by Jeanroy and Lot.[51] It has been further discussed by Miss Weston, who remarks truly that the close resemblance does not necessarily prove borrowing of *Perlesvaus* from *Vengeance*, and would derive the story in both from a lost *Geste of Sir Gawain*.[52] But its relation to the other romances here under discussion has not, I believe, hitherto been remarked. To continue:

Dutch *Lancelot* (III, 19107–19369). — Gawain and the damsel whom he has delivered spend the night at a castle, which turns out to be the castle of Morilagan's brother. The host, learning of what has taken place, imprisons Gawain. The "amie" (*vrindinne*)

[50] So with slight alterations in Dutch *Lancelot*, III, 11761–11978. The "guillotine" is described, but not exhibited to Gawain, in *Livre d'Artus*, p. 143 (for the relationship in general between *Vengeance Raguidel* and *Livre d'Artus*, see Friedwagner's edition of the former, pp. clxxv ff., and J. L. Weston, *Romania*, XLVII, 1921, p. 357).

[51] Nitze, *Perlesvaus*, p. 88; A. Jeanroy, in *Revue critique d'hist. et de litt.*, nouv. sér., LVIII (1901), 241; F. Lot, *Etude sur le Lancelot en prose*, Paris, 1918 (*Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, CCXXVI), p. 287 n. 1.

[52] "The *Perlesvaus* and the *Vengeance Raguidel*," *Romania*, XLVII (1921), 355 ff.

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of the host now reminds him that on a previous occasion he had promised her the head of Gawain; but he must first fight him, she insists. The fight takes place; the host is vanquished, and surrenders. But he now begs Gawain's assistance. The lady will not grant him her love unless he presents her with Gawain's head in a box which she has prepared to receive it. Gawain agrees to lay his head momentarily in the box, and does so. The solution is satisfactory to all.

The box in *Lancelot* is clearly a modified version of the guillotine in *Vengeance Raguidel.*

Atre Perillos. — The "interpolation" ends (lines 596–666) with an insignificant encounter between Gawain and an unnamed knight. The text then continues (2989 ff.): Gawain meets a knight who relates that his lady has granted him her love only on his promising to deliver Gawain as pledge of his constancy:

3233 *Gavain le preu et l'ensegnié*
Ki tant est amé et prisié,
Voloit qu'en plege li livrasse.

He has agreed, since he believes Gawain to be dead; and now, having enjoyed the lady's love, he is on his way to pay his court to another. Gawain (who is still incognito) fights him, and makes him promise to be faithful; they go together to the lady and tell her what has occurred, and Gawain receives her thanks.

The parallel here between Dutch *Lancelot* and *Atre Perillos* is not the least interesting of our series. In both episodes Gawain, through a combat, reconciles a knight with a lady who has imposed some requirement respecting Gawain as a condition of her love; the absurd idea of Gawain's head in a box being replaced by the vaguer one of Gawain's being surety for the knight's loyalty. Taken in connection with the whole of the present discussion, the parallel cannot be denied, and it follows that the *Atre Perillos* "interpolation" belongs at the point where it has been inserted by the copyist of MS. N^2. How this fact can be reconciled with the obvious differences in language and style between the "interpolation"

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and the rest of the poem,[53] is a problem which I leave to the future editor of a critical text of this romance.[54]

Gérard de Nevers (part 2, ch. 10; Lowe, pp. 60–61). — Gérard falls asleep beside the fountain, and the damsel whom he has delivered invites a passing squire to cut off his head.

Perceval (Potvin, *l. c.*). — "L'autre pucelle est une ennemie; elle lui raconte une fausse histoire de rapt, pour le mener dans un piège où l'attendent des larrons." — Perhaps the slight correspondence here is purely accidental.

It may help to make matters clear if we now glance at all the stories with which we are dealing, in skeleton form; omitting the incident common to all except *Livre d'Artus*, the overthrow of the villain by the hero:

Vengeance Raguidel. — Maduc, jealous, beheads all knights; his lady has prepared a guillotine for Gawain.

Livre d'Artus. — Maduc beheads all knights; his lady[55] has prepared a guillotine for Gawain.

Perlesvaus. — Marine, jealous, puts his wife in the water; another lady has prepared guillotines for Gawain, Lancelot, and Perceval.

Dutch *Lancelot.* — Morilagan, jealous, puts his lady in the water, and beheads all knights; another lady has prepared a box for Gawain's head.

Atre Perillos. — Brun, jealous, puts his lady in the water, and beheads all knights; another lady has demanded that Gawain be delivered as pledge.

Gérard de Nevers. — Baudrain, jealous, puts his lady in the water; his lady tries to have Gérard beheaded.

Gerbert *Perceval.* — X, jealous, puts his lady in the water; another lady tries to have Perceval killed.

Claris et Laris. — X, jealous, puts his wife in the water.

VN. — Madageer, disappointed in love, puts all ladies in the water, and imprisons all knights.

[53] *ZFSL*, XXXVI [1] (1910), 285 ff.

[54] The edition of 1868 is based on only one of the three MSS., and even within these limits is faulty; *ibid.*, pp. 289 ff.

[55] His lady, here, only in the feudal sense; he is not said to be in love with her, and his proceedings have no connection with hers; cf. note 50.

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The first five romances connect the story with Gawain; the rest, each with a different hero; but the hero in VN, as in *Atre Perillos*, is Namelos, the Chevalier sans Nom.

It is clear that *Vengeance Raguidel* and *Livre d'Artus* belong in this series, and that they differ from the others only in having no Lady in the Water. But the name Madageer, used in connection with the Lady in the Water in VN, makes it clear also, I think, that *Vengeance Raguidel* and *Livre d'Artus* have eliminated the Lady in the Water from a lost story about Maduc in which she had a place, and which was a source of all the romances here listed. Thus once more, our neglected romance has thrown new light upon the development of an older story.

And now — although it lies somewhat outside of our subject — a few words as to the Lady herself, and her quaint situation. Just as in *Vengeance Raguidel*, Maduc has spread his table in the hope of eventually killing Gawain, so in Dutch *Lancelot*, it is evident that Morilagan has put his lady in the water with the same intention. Such an idea is, of course, absurd on the face of it, and it is apparent that the romancer is endeavoring to supply a rational explanation for something which he really does not understand. Another explanation is, that the lady is in the water because this is an appropriate punishment for one who has been guilty of lustful desires: *e.g.*, in *Claris et Laris*, the knight says to his lady:

21585 *Trop par estes plaine d'ordure,*
Mes je vous ferai refroidir
Pour vostre chalor desordir;

and in *Atre Perillos*, Brun similarly remarks:

180 *Trop avés le cuer escaufé*
. . .
Si veul qu'i[l] vous soit refroidié.

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This is more reasonable, for cold water as an antidote to the desires of the flesh is widely recommended by the precept and practice of the Middle Ages. Sitting in cold water is a frequent mortification in the saints' lives; it is said to have originated with the Brahmans,[56] and appears in the West first, I think, in Bede, who relates that it was practised by St. Cuthbert,[57] and by the monk Drithelm.[58] The Saint in the Water is especially frequent in the twelfth century, just when our Lady in the Water story was taking shape; the story is told then of the English St. Godric,[59] Aldhelm,[60] and Daniel, bishop of Winchester;[61] the Scotch St. Kentigern;[62] the Irish St. Kevin;[63] the French St. Guillaume de Gellone;[64] the German Blessed Ulrich;[65] and the Calabrian monk Philaretes.[66] Later than the twelfth century are the stories of St. Bernard[67] (though this may have an earlier source)

[56] P. Toldo, "Die Busse der Heiligen," in *Studien zur vergl. Literaturgesch.*, II (1902), p. 102; cf. Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, I, 79.

[57] *Vita s. Cuthberti*, cap. 10, cf. J. T. Fowler, *The Life of St. C. in English Verse*, London, 1891 (Surtees Soc., LXXXVII), pp. [6], [7], [11], 49, and C. Plummer, *Ven. Baedae Hist. Eccl.*, Oxonii, 1896, I, 3.

[58] *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 12, cf. Mirk, *Festial*, p. 5.

[59] *Libellus de vita et miraculis s. Godrici* (Surtees Soc., 1847), pp. 85, 91, quoted in *Engl. Studien*, XI (1888), 409 n. 12, 410 n. 1.

[60] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, *Rolls Series*, 1870), V, 213.

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] A. P. Forbes, *Lives of St. Ninian and St. Kentigern*, Edinburgh, 1874, pp. 185, 205.

[63] Günter, *Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, p. 27.

[64] J. Bédier, *Légendes épiques*[2], Paris, 1914–21, I, 120 n.

[65] Toldo, p. 95.

[66] *Ibid.* — I have no note of date for the following stories: the monks of Kilross (*Ordo monasticus in veteri Scotiae monasterio de Kil-Ros olim observatus*, in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus Series Latina, LIX*, 1862, col. 564); Blessed William, a German hermit, and St. Gregory Acritensis (Toldo, *l. c.*).

[67] *Legenda Aurea*, p. 529.

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and St. Francis,[68] and Bacon's remark about "monks in Russia."[69] It is noteworthy, too, that some of the stories of the twelfth century and later explain specifically that the practice was resorted to in order to repress sexual desire; so in the stories of St. Godric (*carnisque calorem repressit*), Aldhelm (*ut vim rebelli corpori concisceret*), St. Bernard (*a calore carnalis concupiscentiae totus refriguit*), and St. Francis (*si qua, ut assolet, carnis temptatio eum quandoque pulsaret*). The idea, obviously, was popular in the twelfth century.[70]

This explanation of the lady's plight is therefore ingenious and plausible — but incorrect, for the true nature of the story is apparent in the three episodes following:

Prose *Lancelot* (II, 342). — Gawain, approaching the Grail-castle of Corbenic, hears cries from a tower, and, entering, finds a maiden in a bath of hot water, in great pain. He tries in vain to lift her out, whereupon she tells him that he will not go from the castle without shame, and that only the best knight in the world can help her. She also explains that God is thus punishing her for a sin she has committed. Gawain, later in the same night, undergoes

[68] *Vita prima inedita auctore Thoma de Celano*, I, vi (*Acta Sanctorum*, Oct., II, 1866, p. 696).

[69] Essay *Of Custom*.

[70] Cold water is recommended also in Gerbert, *Perceval*, 6894 ff.; *Gaydon*, p. 270; *Besant de Dieu*, 504 ff. The idea got into the fabliaux, where of course the bathing is involuntary; *Du Prévost d'Aquilée, ou d'un hermite que la dame fist baignier en aigue froide* (Méon, *Nouveau recueil*, II, 187 ff.); the same story in Jean Mielot's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, p. 76, and in English lives of St. Oswald from the fourteenth century on; cf. G. H. Gerould, "The Hermit and the Saint," in *PMLA*, XX (1905), 529 ff., 541, and R. Reitzenstein, *Historia Monachorum und Historia Lausiaca*, Göttingen, 1916, pp. 34 ff. Here an ascetic legend has become a fabliau, under the influence of the Lady and her Suitors cycle (Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 289 ff.; Cosquin, *Etudes Folkloriques*, pp. 457 ff.), in which also involuntary bathing occurs, *e. g.*, in the ballad *The Fryer well-fitted, or A pretty jest that once befel, How a maid put a Fryer to cool in the well* (J. W. Ebsworth, *The Roxburghe Ballads*, Hertford, 1893, VII, 222 ff.).

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the test of the Adventurous Bed, which includes an attack by a flaming lance, several disturbing visions, and a combat, in the course of which he swoons; later, he is carried out in the darkness.

Ibid. (III, 106). — Here Lancelot delivers the lady from her bath, and is then led to a tomb; on raising the stone, he finds a hideous serpent within, which he fights and kills.[71]

Dame a la Lycorne (6466 ff.)[72] — The Chevalier au Lyon is directed to where a damsel sits in a fountain up to the breasts, suffering great torture. She has long been so, and many have tried in vain to get her out. Fifteen thousand knights, who have gathered, try likewise in vain; but the hero, after making the sign of the cross, draws her out easily. A voice is then heard lamenting: "The adventures are about to be achieved, my life will end, this is the greatest knight that ever came." Later (6834 ff.), the Chevalier ends the enchantments by killing in combat the lord of the country, a knight in black armor.

We are now but a step removed from märchen, and the source of all these stories, I submit, is the märchen whose opening is thus outlined by Bolte and Polívka under Grimm's no. 93:

A[1]. The hero meets while hunting, or in an enchanted castle, a maiden transformed into a beast, or (A[2]) clothed in black, or (A[3]) *standing in the water* or turned to stone, who begs him to release her.

The release is accomplished either (B [1]) by spending three nights in the castle without uttering a word, despite supernatural attacks and terrifying visions, or (B [2]) by a method

[71] Both episodes also in Dutch *Lancelot*, II, 3601 ff., 14839 ff. In Malory, *Morte Darthur*, XI, 1, Lancelot delivers the lady, but Gawain's attempt is related only in retrospect, and another explanation of her plight is given: *by enchauntement Quene Morgan le fay and the Quene of Northgalys hadde put her there in that paynes by cause she was called the fairest lady of that countrey;* cf. L. A. Paton, *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*, Boston, 1903 (*Radcliffe College Monographs*, XIII), p. 100.

[72] Pointed out as a parallel to *Claris et Laris* by Klose, *o. c.*, pp. 285 ff.

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impossible to combine with (A [3]); and, of course, the girl comes out of the water. Variants of (A [3]) are recorded from Breton, Basque, Italian, German, and Slovak sources.[73]

The true nature of this märchen opening, and therefore of the Lady in the Water story, is evident. Enchantment into stone (A [3]) is a recognized märchen symbol for death; [74] so obviously is the black clothing (A [2]). The imprisonment in the fountain must be another such symbol; and the red and the black armor in *Lycorne, Atre Perillos*, and Dutch *Lancelot*, are to be interpreted in the same sense.[75] The terrifying but harmless marvels of the märchen castle, of Corbenic,[76] and of all our fountains, are the supernatural scenery of the other world; and the story of the Lady in the Water, so frequently and in its oldest forms connected with Gawain, is another of that hero's many other-world adventures [77] — the release of a luckless captive in the realm of the dead.[78]

Does this result throw any light on the nature of the second half of the story — the "Guillotine" episode? I

[73] Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, II, 335 ff.

[74] H. Naumann, *Primitive Gemeinschaftskultur*, Jena, 1921, p. 43.

[75] *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 84.

[76] Corbenic has already been recognized as in part an other-world castle; cf. J. L. Weston, *The Legend of Sir Gawain*, London, 1897, p. 42.

[77] Weston, *o. c.*, Ch. VII; A. Nutt, *Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail*, London, 1888, Ch. VII; W. Golther, *Parzival und der Gral*, Stuttgart, 1925, pp. 15 ff.

[78] The remainder of the märchen has also interesting resemblances to the Grail stories, which can only be indicated here: (C) the hero loses the maiden through falling asleep at critical times, cf. Gawain at the Grail castle in pseudo-Wauchier (Potvin, IV, 5); (D) he seeks and (E) finds her again, guided by hermits, spirits, or friendly animals, or helped by magic objects, cf. the second successful visit to the Grail castle, and the numerous friendly hermits in the *Perceval*. Golther, *l. c.*, refers to some of these features as due to a märchen of an enchanted castle, but does not clearly identify the märchen.

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think it does, if we will consider another passage from Malory:

Morte Darthur (VI, 15). — Lancelot, after braving the dangers of the Chapel Perilous (a corpse on a bier, and threatening apparitions), meets outside the Chapel a sorceress, who begs a kiss. On his refusal, she informs him that compliance would have been fatal. But now she has lost all her labor, for she prepared the Chapel for his sake and Sir Gawain's. She has loved Lancelot seven years, and since she could not have his body alive, she wanted to have it dead, when she would have embalmed it and kissed it daily.

The Chapel Perilous is, again, quite evidently the realm of the dead; and Malory and *Vengeance Raguidel* are so alike that they must have derived the story from a common source. *Vengeance Raguidel* retains the chapel, the damsel, and the sophisticated explanation of her conduct; the bier becomes a tomb, the supernatural setting is eliminated, and the quaint device of the Guillotine is substituted for the kiss of death.

In brief: starting back from our romance VN, we have traced, through a set of twelve romances, two stories frequently appearing together, each of which seems to be, in origin, an account of a hero's adventures in the realm of the dead: in the one he rescues a captive, in the other he escapes from a death-dealing "ghost." The stories are most frequently, and in their oldest appearances, connected with Gawain, a recognized hero of other-world adventures. Each of the two stories develops through definite stages:

LADY IN THE WATER:

Stage 1: romantic story of disenchantment, similar to märchen: prose *Lancelot, Dame a la Lycorne.*

Stage 2: motive of jealousy added: Malory, Bk. XI.

Stage 3: motives of jealousy and punishment developed into a "normal version": *Atre Perillos*, Dutch *Lancelot,*

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Gérard de Nevers, Gerbert *Perceval*, all practically identical.

Stage 4: the "normal version" variously modified: *Perlesvaus, Claris et Laris, VN.*

GUILLOTINE:

Stage 1: the sorceress whose kiss is death: Malory, Bk. VI.

Stage 2: the "normal version": *Vengeance Raguidel, Livre d'Artus, Perlesvaus.*

Stage 3: the "normal version" modified: Dutch *Lancelot.*

Stage 4: Stage 3 further modified: *Atre Perillos.*

Stage 5: varying modifications: *Gérard de Nevers*, Gerbert *Perceval.*

Our study has further enabled us to say that the Lady in the Water story must have been originally connected with Maduc; to vindicate for the *Atre Perillos* "interpolation" its place in the romance; to make clear a new other-world feature of the Grail castle; and to suggest new märchen parallels to the Grail stories.

I am aware that the discussion has ignored chronology, and has omitted any attempt to determine just how the stories were handed on from one romance to another. But at least the ground for such an inquiry has been cleared; and we have gained two new and striking illustrations of the process by which wild tales of an older day were adapted by the Arthurian romancers so that they might find, however awkwardly, a place in the world of chivalric adventure.

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CHAPTER IV

VALENTIN UND NAMELOS: THE KNIGHT AND HIS WILD BROTHER

(Episodes 4, 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 20, 22, 23)

One important section of our romance has not yet been touched upon. It comprises all those passages in which the brothers Valentin and Namelos appear, not as the vaguely defined "children" of the Jealous Sisters märchen, who go through life together, meeting with identical experiences; but as the strongly contrasted individuals whom the world still thinks of — in Dickens' phrase — as "Valentine and his wild brother." In other words, it remains for us to seek sources for three groups of events: the adventures of Valentin as an individual; the adventures of Namelos as an individual; and the story of their separation and reunion. We shall take these up in the reverse order.

I. The Separated Brothers

Let us, before beginning the discussion, have before us again the relevant portions of the Analysis:

4. *The Birth, Exposure, and Finding of Valentin and Namelos*

. . . The maidservant Philomin, . . . instead of drowning [the children], places one in a box which she throws into the river, and the other under a tree in the forest. The latter child is found, carried off, and suckled, by a she-wolf. . . . Two days later, the child in the box is found, floating on the river, by Pipping's daughter, Clarina. . . .

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10. *Namelos the Wild Man*

. . . The king, hunting in the forest, pursues a wild man, who is Valentin's brother. The wild man wounds the king with his claws, and puts him to flight. Valentin goes to the forest and fights with the wild man, who at last surrenders to him through the "force of nature," and is brought into court. He is called Namelos, and Valentin sees to it that he is bathed, that the long hair covering his body is shaved off, that he is given proper clothing, and that he is taught to walk, and to behave correctly, although he is still unable to speak. . . .

Contrasted and quarreling brothers, whether twins or no, are familiar in story as in life. Cain and Abel, Jacob and Esau, are ancient instances. It is this element in our story to which attention is directed by Mr. J. Rendel Harris in a recent article.[1] Mr. Harris is known for a series of valuable studies in the mythology and folk-lore of twins,[2] in the course of which he has made it clear (among other things) that twins, in primitive custom and story, are sometimes exposed; that exposed twins are sometimes said to be suckled by wild beasts — *e.g.*, Romulus and Remus; that twins are frequently more or less contrasted in character — *e.g.*, Jacob and Esau, and Amphion and Zethus in Euripides; and that twins sometimes quarrel. Mr. Harris accounts for these things by the hypothesis of a widespread twin-cult; and now he points out that *Valentine and Orson* contains all the elements enumerated — exposure of twins, suckling by a beast, contrast, and quarrel — and concludes that VO "is an ancient twin-tale, which has been incorporated in a French romance."

[1] "Valentine and Orson, A Study in Twin Cult," *Contemporary Review*, CXXVI (1924), 323 ff.

[2] *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*, 1903; *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, 1906; *Boanerges*, 1913; *Picus Who is Also Zeus*, 1916; cf. E. S. Hartland, "Twins," in J. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, XII (New York, 1922), pp. 491 ff.

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With the conclusion as so stated we are already practically in agreement. VO, or better, its predecessor VN, is indeed an ancient twin-tale, if the Jealous Sisters märchen may be called such; and from the märchen come the exposure of the children, and perhaps the suckling by a beast. But as to the other matters — contrast and quarrel — Mr. Harris, I think, misses the point. The root idea of our story is contrast brought about *through separation*. The twins are different, not from the beginning,[3] as in Mr. Harris' examples, but because the story puts them through contrasting experiences, which develop the difference. The quarrel, again, in Mr. Harris' twin-stories, is always a prelude to separation; in VN, it is the result of separation, and a prelude to reunion. Or, to put it in another way, Mr. Harris' twins, even while they fight, are well aware that they are twins; while in our story, they fight only because they are not yet aware of it. Our story, in short — so far as concerns this aspect of it — is not of the type Quarreling Twins, but of the much commoner type Combat of Relatives, and as such belongs with the stories of tragic or nearly tragic misunderstanding, the result of separation, which are collected and studied by M. A. Potter in his book *Sohrab and Rustem*.[4]

It is possible, of course, as Mr. Harris supposes, that there existed an ancient tale of exposed, beast-suckled, contrasted, and quarreling twins, of which our author made use; only, we have no proof of the existence of such a tale in any medieval form. It is even possible that the whole group of stories dealing with the *inadvertent* combat of brothers may

[3] In Bishop Percy's *Reliques* ballad, "Ursine" indeed is born hairy, as Mr. Harris points out; but the trait cannot be original in the story, for the older texts, including the *Folio MS.* ballad, have no hint of any difference at birth. The same remark applies to Percy's "scarlet kercher," in which Mr. Harris would see a connection with the thunder god.

[4] London, 1902; Potter included VO in his list, p. 208.

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have grown out of older stories dealing with their *intentional* combat.[5] But such a speculation has nothing to do directly with VN and VO, which, let us bear in mind, are very late productions, using much well-worn romantic material. If we can find their sources for this portion of the story in earlier romance, we need not speculate as to the ultimate origins of the story-type.

First, then, as to separation. What is the history of this story-formula: two brothers, separated in infancy, are reunited in manhood?

In the Greek and Latin comedy, and the Greek romance, we find frequent use of separation and reunion as a device to set and keep the story going, or to solve the dramatic difficulty; and occasionally, the separation story involves brothers.[6] But the separation of the brothers in stories of this kind is never anything more than a plot device; that is, it never serves as the basis for any evident contrast in character or experience. In one story of this group, however, we seize a clue which will lead us gradually to the VN separation plot. This is the romantic story which forms the central portion of the legend of St. Eustace (Eustachius, Placidas), well known in western Europe from the tenth century:[7]

[5] I do not know whether this has been proposed; but the Freudians interpret the story-formulae Exposure, and Combat of Relatives, as arising out of the inherent enmity between members of the same family; cf. O. Rank, *Die Lohengrinsage*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 84 ff., 101 ff.

[6] Examples are the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, and the romantic story of the fourth-century Clementine writings; others may be traced from the references in Günter, *Buddha in der abendl. Legende?*, p. 17.

[7] For analyses and relations of versions of the story, see G. H. Gerould, "Forerunners, Congeners, and Derivatives of the Eustace Legend," *PMLA*, XIX (1904), 335 ff.; for bibliography, Hibbard, *Mediaeval Romance in England*, p. 10; cf. H. Petersen, in *Mémoires de la Soc. Néo-philologique de Helsingfors*, VII (1924), 51 ff., and in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, XXVI (1925), 65 ff.; A. Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1925, p. 236.

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Eustace, wandering in exile, and having been separated from his wife, comes with his two children to a stream which is to be forded. He carries one boy across; returning for the other, he sees a lion carry him off, while a wolf carries off the first boy. The children are rescued from the lion and the wolf by shepherds and plowmen respectively, and grow up in the same village, though ignorant of their relationship. Arrived at manhood, they take service together in the army of which their father is the head. Recognition results from a conversation between them, overheard by their mother.

It should be noted that the contrast of experience and character which we are seeking is here present, in germ at least. One brother is stolen by a lion, and rescued by shepherds; the other is stolen by a wolf, and rescued by plowmen. Presumably (though this is not stated) one is developing into a shepherd, and the other into a plowman, when the call to arms comes. We are reminded of the brothers Cain and Abel — *fuit autem Abel pastor ovium, et Cain agricola;*[3] perhaps the point is a Biblical reminiscence. But nothing more is made of it, and there is no further difference between the brothers, and of course no combat.

The other matter of interest to us in the *Eustace* story is the wolf. In *Eustace*, the wolf, like the lion, is an agent of separation, and corresponds to the robbers, pirates and shipwreck of the other Greek romances. But in our story VN, the children have already been separated before the wolf takes a hand — the servant-girl has exposed them in two different places; and the wolf, after carrying off the child to its den, becomes the compassionate Suckling Beast of the Jealous Sisters and similar stories. It is evident that here again our author has made an original combination of two traditions, as follows:

Jealous Sisters: children *exposed* together, and (sometimes) *suckled by a beast.*

[3] *Gen.* IV, 2.

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Eustace: children *separated* by a lion and *a wolf.*
VN: children *exposed separately,* and one *suckled by a wolf.*

The result is somewhat confused. Here is the passage:

168 *se begunde to deme dike gân,*
dar in warp se dat sulve schrîn
mit deme enen knepelîn.
dat andere drôch se to walde wart
in groten sorgen sere vorvart
unde lede it up einen grønen plân
vor einen busch alsunder wân.
dat kind klauwerde unde begunde sik regen.
dar bi was eine wulvinne gelegen
mit jungen wulven, also ik vorsta.
de wulvinne quam deme kinde so na
unde drôch it mit er in dat nest,
se lede it mank de jungen bêst,
it sôch alse ein ander dede.
de maget jagede van der stede . . .

Thus the sequence of events is: Philomin, having thrown one child into the water, lays the other under a tree — evidently with the same intention, to abandon it; the she-wolf comes up, carries the child into her den, and suckles it; Philomin runs away. The scene shows clearly a wavering between the two ideas, (1) a compassionate beast suckles an abandoned infant, (2) a wild beast steals a child by force.

That there should be confusion between the Suckling Beast and the Stealing Beast is not surprising, when we consider the popularity in the Middle Ages, in various forms, of the stories involving these two figures. Nor is VN the first place in which the confusion occurs; it is found, a little earlier, in the romance *Octavian,* to which we shall turn presently.[9] But

[9] That the bear in VO is a combination of Suckling Beast and Stealing Beast was noted by A. Monteverdi ("La Leggenda di S. Eustachio,"

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in VN we have more than a mere confusion; we have an intentional mingling of two stories. From the *Eustace* story, or one like it, come the wolf, and the theme of separation; which are combined with the Jealous Sisters story by means of two devices: (1) making the wolf a Suckling Beast, (2) making the separation part of the process of exposure. This latter device, the separation of twins by exposure in two different places, is unique in romance, so far as I have found; [10] one of the inventions of our ingenious author.

The suckling wolf is not quite unique, though pretty rare. All the suckling wolves that I have been able to discover are listed in the note, and they form but a few of the vast army of suckling beasts.[11] Since none of these wolf stories

Studi Medievali, III, 1909, p. 196). He was, of course, mistaken in seeing in this circumstance any support for his suggestion that the Stealing Beast may originally have developed out of the Suckling Beast; VO and VN are no transitional forms, but very late compilations.

[10] There is one instance in a late Irish saint's legend, *Vita s. Barri*, in C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, Oxford, 1910, p. 65; here the unnecessary twin is thrown into the river, and immediately lost sight of.

[11] List of suckling wolf stories: (1) Miletos (Antoninus Liberalis, *Metam.*, cap. 30); (2) Romulus and Remus (this famous story is now regarded by scholars as an imitation of Greek stories like that of Miletos, the appearance of twins being explained as due to an attempt to combine two independent stories, cf. Rosenberg, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, II, 1, Stuttgart, 1914, cols. 1081, 1090); (3) the wolf-child Schalû, in the Mongolian *Ardschi-Bordschi*, a version of the *Tales of a Throne* (B. Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung*, Innsbruck, 1868, pp. 216 ff.; R. H. Busk, *Sagas from the Far East*, London, 1873, pp. 276 ff.); (4) the Turkish ancestor-myth found in Chinese sources (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1900-02, IV, 349; J. de Guignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, Paris, 1756–58, I, 2, p. 371; J. Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*, Paris, 1826, p. 113; S. Julien, *Documents historiques sur les Tou-kioue*, Paris, 1877, p. 2; A. Bauer, in *Wiener Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-hist. Kl.*, C, 1882, p. 563); (5) the Irish St. Ailbe (Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, p. 46), Amargen (*ibid.*,

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involves separation of a pair of children, it is unnecessary to consider them as possible sources of VN.

From *Eustace*, then, or a story like it, come the separation of the brothers, and the wolf. The legend itself need not have been used, for it is but one of a large group of stories of similar kind.[12] However, only one other story of the group shows any special resemblance to VN. This is the twelfth-century romance *Guillaume d'Angleterre*. Here one child is stolen by the wolf; the father pursues until he sinks down exhausted; the child is rescued by passing merchants, who then find and take with them the second, abandoned child.[13]

p. 65), Cormac of Achad Finniche (W. Stokes, *On the Calendar of Oengus*, *Transactions of the Royal Irish Acad.*, *Irish MS. Series*, I, Part I, Dublin, 1880, p. lxxxv), and Coningen (W. Stokes, *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, *Henry Bradshaw Soc.*, XXIX, London, 1905, p. 121). No other wolves are definitely said to suckle children; but in two stories, exposed children are carried off by wolves, and later found unharmed: (6) *Wolfdietrich*, B. 151 ff.; (7) an Irish swan-children märchen (Kennedy, *Fireside Stories of Ireland*, pp. 14 ff.). In still other stories, the wolves actually steal the children, and while they are not definitely said to suckle them, at any rate treat them kindly: (8) *Fecunda Ratis*, an eleventh-century Latin poem (II, 472 ff., cf. Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, I, 236); (9) *Guillaume de Palerne* (79 ff., 4075 ff.; the wolf in this romance is an enchanted prince, who steals children for good ends and does not hurt them); (10) a story of Cormac mac Airt, in the *Book of Ballymote* (S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, London, 1892, no. 15); (11) a German variant of the märchen *Bärensohn* (F. Panzer, *Studien zur germ. Sagengeschichte, I. Beowulf*, München, 1910, no. 4, pp. 17, 19). Stories are still told in India of children living among wolves; E. B. Tylor (*Anthropological Review*, I, 1863, pp. 21 ff.) regarded the phenomenon as not proved; Kipling, it is well known, made use of the idea in his *Jungle Book*, and the New York *World* prints a "wolf-child" story (apparently well authenticated) from Bengal, Oct. 22, 1926; cf. *Punch*, May 4, 1927, p. 488. The suckling wolf, in short, has been popular in the East and in Ireland, and only sporadic elsewhere.

[12] Cf. Gerould, *o. c.*

[13] Lines 753–838.

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Thus, as in VN, there is only one beast, the wolf, and only one of the children is concerned with it, the other child falling immediately into human hands. It is possible therefore that our author made use of this romance; if not, he used some version of the *Eustace* legend itself.

But in all stories of the *Eustace* group proper — or the Man Tried by Fate group, as Gerould calls it — the idea of separation and contrast of the brothers, so prominent in our romance, is present only in rudimentary form. This we have remarked above of the legend itself, and it is true of the group as a whole. With the thirteenth century, however, this idea of separation and contrast develops further. And first, the incident of the Stealing Beasts is detached from the *Eustace* type of story, and is introduced into stories of the group to which our romance belongs, the Calumniated Wife. This may be observed in *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, a romance originally of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century.[14] *Hélène* belongs to the *Constance* type of story; its heroine is falsely accused, and banished with her twin boys. The interesting thing is, that as she lies asleep, the children are carried off by a lion and a wolf respectively. Gerould has shown that the incident was borrowed directly from the *Eustace* legend.[15]

Hélène's sons are rescued from the beasts by a hermit, and grow up together. But now that the Stealing Beast has entered the Calumniated Wife stories, a new development takes place: the brothers, separated by the Stealing Beasts, remain apart until the final reunion of the family. This brings us to *Octavian*, a very popular romance dating in its extant forms from the same period as *Hélène*. I summarize from the French version published by Vollmöller:

[14] Suchier, *Œuvres de Beaumanoir*, I, xxvii; G. Paris, *Litt. fr. au moyen âge*[8], Paris, 1922, p. 280.

[15] *O. c.*, p. 444.

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The wife of Emperor Octavian of Rome, having borne twin sons, is falsely accused of infidelity by her mother-in-law, and condemned to the stake; but at the last moment, her sentence is commuted to exile. She departs, with her children. While she sleeps by a fountain, one child is stolen by an ape, and the other by a lioness. The first child, Florent, is rescued from the ape by a knight, taken from the knight by robbers, and sold by the robbers to a palmer named Climent, who is a rich butcher of Paris. Florent, adopted by Climent as his son, shows a hereditary taste for knightly pursuits, kills the giant champion of the Saracen invaders of France, and carries off the Sultan's daughter; but is taken captive, with his father the Emperor. The second boy, called (like his father) Octavian, is protected against a griffin, and suckled, by the lioness; the mother, pursuing, comes up, and resumes possession of the child, the lioness becoming their constant companion and guardian; they live under the protection of the king of Acre. The young Octavian, grown to manhood, comes to France (with his mother and the lioness) in time to rescue his father and brother from the Saracens. Recognition and reunion follow.

The similarity of the VN and VO stories to that of *Octavian* has often been remarked,[16] but the exact nature of the similarity has not been pointed out. It is this: each combines the story of a calumniated wife with the story of the separation and reunion of a pair of twin brothers, the children of the suffering heroine; the separation is in each brought about through some modification of the *Eustace* incident of the Stealing Beasts; and — most important for our purpose — the brothers, so separated, remain separated. This last is the special contribution of *Octavian* to the development we are tracing. The brothers remain separated, and room is thus given for the amplification of the story by the addition of two series of adventures — one for each brother — having no original connection with the Calumniated Wife story which forms the framework of the whole.

[16] First, I think, by F. Wolf, *Über die neuesten Leistungen der Franzosen für die Herausgabe ihrer National-Heldengedichte*, Wien, 1833, p. 99 note; most recently by Gerould, *o. c.*, p. 438.

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In all these matters, VN evidently follows *Octavian*, whether in one of the extant forms or an earlier one. Other similarities are in the opening incidents — the accusation and banishment — which, however, in VN are not so close to *Octavian* as to the other sources to which we have referred them in Chapter II; and in the ambiguous character of the lioness. Like the wolf in VN, the lioness is both a Stealing and a Suckling Beast, and she ends in fact by being a Helpful Beast modeled after the lion in *Yvain*. Such confusion is of course a sign of late composition.[17]

Octavian, then, has separation of twins, brought about by a Stealing Beast incident, and leading to two separate life-histories; the whole forming part of a Calumniated Wife story. The next step is, naturally, to develop further the difference between the brothers; to make them, not merely different, but contrasted, in character, or experience, or both.

Here we must turn back for a moment, to trace the theme of Contrasted Brothers in a somewhat wider field. I have remarked already on the ancient and universal character of this theme, but have pointed out that in our story the contrast of the brothers is dependent upon and grows out of their separation. It becomes of interest then to note, in the wider circle of separation romances, other stories of the same kind: stories in which the separation of brothers is made to lead to a contrast and a combat, even though the Stealing Beast and the Calumniated Wife may be lacking. These stories all belong of course to the Combat of Relatives or *Sohrab and Rustem* type; but are distinguished from the rest in that the combating brothers are clearly contrasted.

The earliest seems to be that which forms part of the *Parzival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach (c. 1200). Parzival

[17] Another fourteenth-century Stealing-and-Suckling-Beast is the lioness in *Lion de Bourges* (see the remarks in Chapter V on VO, ch. 5); this however is not a twin-story.

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and Feirefiz are half-brothers, one white and Christian, the other parti-colored and pagan, who meet for the first time in manhood, and fight a long and indecisive combat, which is ended by recognition (Books 1, 2, 15).[18] A similar contrast — Christian versus pagan — is found in *Maugis d'Aigremont*, a romance of the fourteenth century in its existing French form, but necessarily an older story, since fragments of a Dutch version are assigned to the thirteenth century:[19]

Maugis and Vivien, twin brothers, are stolen by two different Saracens on the day of their birth. Maugis is brought up by the fairy Oriande, who teaches him magic; Vivien, by the Saracen Sorgalant. Grown to manhood, the brothers — one a Christian, the other a Saracen — meet and fight one another, ignorant of course of their relationship. The battle ends with the surrender of the Saracen brother. Recognition comes about through ear-rings given them by their mother at birth.

Maugis, in this aspect, would seem to be an adaptation of a story like *Octavian*, influenced by the *Rainouart* tradition: as Rainouart is a Saracen prince who leaves home in childhood[20] and is brought up as a Christian, so Vivien is a Christian prince kidnapped in infancy and brought up as a Saracen.[21] The *Octavian* influence gives us twins, the double kidnapping, and the separate life-histories; while the element of contrast

[18] No source other than "Kyot" has ever been pointed out for this story; Singer, who attempts to prove the French derivation of Books 1 and 2, does not touch upon the Separation and Reunion theme (S. Singer, "Wolfram's Stil und der Stoff des Parzival," *Wiener Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, CLXXX, 1916, pp. 47 ff.).

[19] Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 800; te Winkel, in Paul, *Grundriss*, II, 426.

[20] The circumstances vary; cf. Gautier, *Epopées*, IV, 517; J. Runeberg, *Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart*, Helsingfors, 1905, pp. 35, 126.

[21] There is doubtless also influence of *Enfances Vivien*, as suggested by F. Castets, *Recherches sur les rapports des Ch. de g. et de l'épopée chevaleresque italienne*, Montpellier, 1887, p. 90.

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is so heightened as to lead inevitably to a combat, as in *Parzival.*

It is probable that the author of VN knew and used *Maugis.* Both are Carolingian romances, and both have the pair of contrasted and combating brothers. The two combats end similarly, one brother kneeling with clasped hands in front of the other. Maugis by his enchantments makes Vivien believe himself to be before the high altar of Mahon and Tervagant,

9014 *Et par devant Maugis se va agenoillant . . .*
Mains jointes li aloit aorer deproiant.

Namelos likewise kneels before his brother, though not for the same reason:

1133 *up sine kne gaf it sik sedder*
unde volde sine klawen beide
dorch vruchten unde dorch leiden.
dar wrachte Valentines macht
unde der naturen kraft.

In *Octavian* also, the twins are Christian and Saracen respectively, and fight on meeting, according to the Italian version of the story.[22] The circumstance here results from the fact that the banished queen is a Saracen by birth, and seeks refuge in her home country, so that the child who remains with her is naturally brought up as a Saracen.

So much for the Christian-pagan contrast. And now the final step brings us to the contrast which characterizes our romance — the "wild man" versus the product of civilization. The contrast is an ancient one in brother-stories, as Mr. Harris has pointed out; but, for the reasons already given, we shall confine ourselves here to those medieval ro-

[22] *Fioravante*, chs. 61–76; *Reali di Francia*, II, 44–53; *Uggeri il Danese*, *Romania*, IV (1875), 402.

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mances which tell of the separation and consequent inadvertent combat of a pair of brothers.

It is perhaps significant that in two stories of this kind, one of the pair is called "wild." These are Balaain le Sauvage, who fights his brother Balaan in the Huth *Merlin*,[23] and Ismael the Savage, who fights his brother Generides in the English romance of that name.[24] No explanation of Balaain's surname is given in the romance,[25] but Tennyson's presentation of him as a man of over-hasty temper — "My violences, my violences!" — is abundantly justified by the story. As to Ismael, the A version of *Generides* explains that the name Savage was given him,

1345 *For he was wild in all his demening,*
Vnto the tyme he drew to more sadnesse.

Merlin is a text of the thirteenth century, and may represent the first stage in the adaptation to romance of this ancient idea; *Generides* is much later.

The contrast appears fully developed in *Tristan de Nanteuil*, a romance, like VN, of the fourteenth century:

Gui de Nanteuil makes a voyage to the Orient with his wife and their child Tristan. A Saracen takes advantage of Gui's temporary absence on shore to kidnap his wife, while the child, left alone in the ship, floats away at the mercy of the waves. But a *sirène* suckles him, by God's grace;[26] and its milk has made him as big as a horse of Carthage by the time he reaches land. Here a hind (*cerve*),

[23] I, 213 ff.; Malory, *Morte Darthur*, Book 2.

[24] *Generides A*, 2619 ff.; *B*, 4427 ff.

[25] E. Vettermann (*Die Balen-Dichtungen und ihre Quellen, Beihefte zur ZRP*, LX, 1918, p. 198) thinks it means "exile, outlaw," but this is only a guess. Cf. the various attempts to explain the name of the MHG. poet Der Wilde Mann (K. Köhn, *Die Gedichte des W. M. u. Wernhers vom Niederrhein*, Berlin, 1891, *Schriften zur germ. Philol.*, VI, p. xxxvi).

[26] Tristan later (p. 22) calls the siren an angel, and says that it taught him religion and languages.

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which has also drunk the siren's milk, carries him off, and feeds him on bread and meat, and Tristan grows up among the beasts of the forest. Meanwhile, the hind commits ravages upon the country, and king Galafre promises his daughter to anyone who will kill it. The king of Ivorie attempts the feat, but is torn to pieces.[27]

Tristan is now aged sixteen; he is hairy, and wears only clothing of leaves, *ainsy c'uns homs sauvages*. But, with the help of the hind, he captures a bride, who inspires him with a desire to wear clothing and to live no longer as a beast; she teaches him also the state of the world, and the meaning of chivalry. The bride, however, is recaptured, and the hind is finally overcome and killed by an army of a hundred thousand men. Tristan then leaves the forest, and the first man he meets is his younger half-brother Doon — who has been exposed, and brought up by a forester, has set out to seek his parents, and has met with various adventures. Doon agrees to accept the wild man as a companion, and teaches him the Christian faith. They meet with many adventures, singly and together, before learning of their birth and relationship.[28]

This is only a part of the long and complicated story of *Tristan*, and it has very much the appearance of a travestied version of the corresponding portions of VN. In both, we have the wild and the civilized brother, who are both foundlings; they meet first in manhood; the civilized one teaches the other, and makes him his companion in the search for his parents, before their relationship is known. The differences between the two versions seem to be due to the arbitrary fancy of the author of *Tristan*. Thus, the combat which we have come to expect when the brothers meet is missing in *Tristan*, because the author has amused himself by representing Tristan as averse to fighting:

J'ain mieulx estre en paix et n'aye point d'amye (anuye?)
Que maintenir debat et avoir seignorie.
En guerre maintenir peut on perdre la vie.[29]

[27] Compare, in VN, the encounter of Pipping with the wild Namelos, at the beginning of episode 10.

[28] Analysis, pp. 4–6, 8–10, 21 ff.

[29] P. 33.

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Only later does he receive the gift of courage, from a fairy. The siren and the hind, again, are a grotesque version of the Suckling Beast. Thus once more, as in episode 13,[30] we find that *Tristan de Nanteuil* has in common with VN a rather unusual series of events, but with such differences of detail as indicate that the VN version is the original one. It seems likely therefore that VN is a source of *Tristan*, and if so, the contrasting pair of brothers is our author's elaboration of such hints as he found in earlier sources, without indebtedness to *Tristan*.

I think, however, that we do not need *Tristan* in order to account for VN. To recapitulate: separation and reunion of a pair of brothers, introduced by a Stealing Beast incident, is found in the very popular *Eustace* legend; *Eustace* has, however, only a rudimentary contrast between the brothers. *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, a twelfth-century romance of the *Eustace* group, has but one beast, the wolf, which is concerned with only one of the children. In the thirteenth century, the Stealing Beasts of *Eustace* become attached to a story of a persecuted woman, in *Belle Hélène;* and in *Octavian*, we find in addition two separate sets of adventures for the brothers. Meanwhile, contrast between brothers had appeared in romances of the Combat of Relatives type. The contrast of Christian versus pagan is found in *Parzival*, is further developed in *Maugis*, and enters the *Octavian* story in the Italian versions. The contrast of wild versus civilized is suggested in *Merlin* and *Generides*, and elaborated in VN and *Tristan de Nanteuil*.[31]

From the *Eustace* legend, or from *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, VN borrowed the fundamental idea of separation of brothers

[30] P. 77 above.

[31] Later than these (c. 1450) are the twins Jean and Gerard in *Gilles de Trasignies;* Jean is *bien actempre en parler et en maniere*, while Gerard is *hatif chault et bouillant pour ses voloirs accomplir* (pp. 93 ff.).

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brought about by a wolf, and combined it in an awkward way with the Jealous Sisters story of exposure and a suckling beast. From *Octavian* must have come the idea of combining such a separation story with the trials of a Calumniated Wife, and of developing it into a pair of independent life-histories. For the contrast and combat, VN pretty certainly used *Maugis*, and may have taken a suggestion for the wild-civilized contrast from *Merlin*, or from the lost French source of *Generides*. *Tristan de Nanteuil* appears to be, in this respect, a disguised imitation of VN. The separation, contrast, and combat of the brothers Valentin and Namelos is a normal development from hints in earlier romance.

II. Namelos

10. *Namelos the Wild Man*

. . . The king, hunting in the forest, pursues a wild man, who is Valentin's brother. The wild man wounds the king with his claws, and puts him to flight. Valentin goes to the forest and fights with the wild man, who at last surrenders to him through the "force of nature," and is brought into court. He is called Namelos, and Valentin sees to it that he is given proper clothing, and that he is taught to walk, and to behave correctly, although he is still unable to speak. . . .

The indefinite "wildness" imputed to one of a pair of combating brothers in Huth *Merlin* and in *Generides* is not of course sufficient to account for the wild man Namelos. We must turn from the brother-stories to give some attention to the "wild man" in medieval art and literature, and in present-day folk-belief, custom, and story.

Some limitation is essential. We must leave out of account the legions of giants and dwarfs,[32] including the

[32] F. Wohlgemuth, *Riesen und Zwerge in der af. erzählenden Dichtung*, Stuttgart, 1906.

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gigantic Wild Herdsman,[33] and the equally gigantic Vilain found haunting fairy castles;[34] the strange races of men who appear in the Alexander-romances and in some of the *chansons de geste;* and at least semi-chivalrous figures like the Green Knight of the English Gawain-romances, and Sir Dodinel le Sauvage.[35] Our wild man is of normal stature, and appears as an isolated individual — not a member of any specified race, or of the order of chivalry. These characteristics seem to be implied in the name given him — "wild man," or something equivalent. Although at times he owes something to these other related figures, his prototype in the main is the wood-spirit of popular belief.[36] This creature, as modern folklore knows him, lives in the forest depths; has a hairy body, or green clothing; is frequently of great physical strength; sometimes carries an uprooted tree as a club; is sometimes reputed to attack the unwary passer, particularly the women and children; but sometimes, too, is captured, tamed, and taught to render useful service.[37]

Human representatives of the wood-spirit appear in connection with popular festivals, and are sometimes even called

[33] Most recently treated by R. S. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, New York, 1927, Ch. XIII; cf. A. C. L. Brown, *Iwain*, Boston, 1903 (Harvard *Studies and Notes*, VIII), pp. 70 ff., 109; L. A. Paton, in *PMLA*, XXII (1907), 252 ff., 256 n. 1, 268.

[34] Loomis, *o. c.*, Ch. XI.

[35] E. K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, I, 186; Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight, passim;* Lot, *Etude sur le Lancelot*, p. 174; Brugger, in *Loomis Studies*, pp. 166 ff.

[36] Connected with Orson by R. Withington, *English Pageantry*, Cambridge, Mass., 1918, p. 79 n. 1.

[37] All discussions of the wood-spirit depend upon the collections of W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2], Berlin, 1904; see especially I, 87–153, 311–41; also F. Neri, "La maschera del selvaggio," *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, LIX (1912), 50 ff.

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"the wild man." [38] It has recently been suggested that such festivals, celebrating the return of spring, explain the frequent mention of the wild man in medieval Provençal and Italian lyrics as one who brings joy, courage, and consolation.[39] However this may be, it is clear that by the fourteenth century, courtly circles were adapting the folk-disguisings to purposes of more refined entertainment, and it was a fashionable amusement to masquerade as a "wild man of the woods." [40] Early references to the custom are in the life of Jacopone da Todi, and in the *Decameron*.[41] It kept pace with the development of masque and pageantry through the sixteenth century; [42] while representations of the wild man in art and heraldry are frequent from the second half of the thirteenth century on.[43]

Sometimes, indeed, the wild man is believed to be a man like the rest of us, who for special reasons has taken up a wild life; and this of course is a thing constantly happening in reality. Rare is the country district without its eccentric recluse, living an ultra-simple life in a retired spot; in

[38] Mannhardt, *o. c.*, chs. III and IV, esp. pp. 333 ff.; J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God*, London, 1911, pp. 206 ff.; G. Bertoni, "Servâdzo," *Bulletin du glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande*, XII (1913), 33 ff.

[39] Bertoni, *l. c.*; O. Schultz-Gora, in *ZRP*, XLIV (1924), 129 ff.

[40] Mannhardt, pp. 338 ff.; R. S. Loomis, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXIII (1919), 265, and the references there given.

[41] IV, 2 (Neri, *o. c.*, p. 48).

[42] See the numerous references in Neri, pp. 48, 62 ff.; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 185, 392; J. Larwood and J. C. Hotten, *History of Signboards* [3], London, 1866, p. 366; Withington, *English Pageantry*, I, 72 ff.

[43] Mannhardt, pp. 339 ff.; Geffroy, *Notices et extraits des MSS.*, p. 67, Loomis, *l. c.*, and in *MP*, XIV (1917), 751 ff.; Withington, *l. c.*; A. Spamer, "Die wilden Leute in Sage und Bild," *Volkskunst und Volkskunde*, IX (1911), 117 ff.; J. Bosworth and T. N. Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Oxford, 1882–98, *s. v. wuduwdsa*. A heraldic "salvage man" is described by Scott, *Guy Mannering*, ch. 41.

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America, he is usually "the hermit," and is regarded as queer but harmless; though children come upon him unawares with a thrill of mingled curiosity and dread. Frequently it is reported that he has been disappointed in love, but other explanations too are offered to account for his preference for solitude. Such human solitaries must have been especially frequent in the medieval waste places. When the solitary becomes more than usually beast-like, he may be called "wild," and may fall heir to the attributes and doings of the wood-spirit.[44]

A third group of wild figures known to folk-lore are those who, in primitive story, are the offspring of a union between

[44] Even a long journey and hardship may make a man look *als obe er wilde waere* (Gottfried, *Tristan*, 4005). A wild life is the result of divine punishment, in certain Scotch and Irish legends related in some way to the *Vita Merlini*, and evidently influenced by the Biblical story of Nebuchadnezzar (*Dan.* IV, 25 ff.; see note 66); these solitaries run upon all fours, like Namelos. In another group of hermit-legends (note 70) the penance is voluntary. Grief renders Merlin wild, in the *Vita Merlini*, and the same is true of an Italian *salvèi*, in the valley of Andorno (Neri, *o. c.*, p. 54 n. 2). Wildness is the result of enchantment, in many versions of the *Eisenhans* märchen (p. 120 below). A wild man of Harz tradition was first an outlaw (H. Pröhle, *Harzsagen*[2], Leipzig, 1886, p. 100). In Straparola (*Notti*, V, 1) we find a wild man who has been crossed in love. Temporary love-madness is of course a frequent affliction of romantic heroes (J. R. Reinhard, *Amadas et Ydoine*, Durham, 1927, pp. 112 ff.), and occasionally in such stories the lover is called or compared to a wild man; thus, Yvain (2827) . . . *conversa el boschage Come hon forsenez et sauvage;* and in the fifteenth-century German poem *Der Busant*, a version of *Peter of Provence* (F. H. von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, Stuttgart, 1850, I, 331 ff.), the temporarily love-deranged hero is *der wilde man;* he is hunted (like Namelos) but takes refuge in a tree; when captured, he is shaved, and cared for until he returns to his senses. On "wolf-children" and the like, cf. note 11, and R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago, 1924, pp. 239 ff., 271, 276.

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a man or a woman and an animal. Among these primitive stories are the totemic myths;[45] and all of them are thought to have arisen in a state of society where the possibility of such unions was believed in. With the growing awareness of the differences between man and other animals, and the growing consciousness of superiority to the beasts, such old stories were modernized by various methods: (1) the animal parent was made really a human being who at times assumed beast-form, as in the familiar *Mélusine* type; (2) both parents were made human, but the child was suckled by a beast; or (3) the human parent was represented as having been forced into the union unwillingly. For the same reasons that led to these changes, the preliminaries were passed over rapidly, and attention was centered on the career of the offspring.[46] Thus arose stories like the widespread *Bärensohn* or *Bear's Son* märchen.[47] Bärensohn, in many versions, is actually the son of a bear and a woman; in others, of a woman and a dwarf or robber, who likewise has his lair in the forest; in others, of a man and a she-bear, or a mare; while in still others he is of human parentage on both sides, but suckled by a she-bear or a cow.[48] He spends his early life in the forest, and when full-grown comes forth to astonish the world with deeds of superhuman strength and

[45] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, II, 565 ff., III, 60 ff., 337 ff. For a wide collection of Beast-Marriage stories of all types, see J. A. MacCulloch, *The Childhood of Fiction*, London, 1905, Ch. IX.

[46] This is a summary of the discussions of W. Wundt, *Völkerpsychologie*[2], V, Leipzig, 1914, pp. 165 ff., and Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, pp. 247 ff.

[47] Aarne, 301 A; Grimm, 91; Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, II, 297 ff.; Panzer, *Beowulf*, pp. 1–245; Wesselski, *l. c.*

[48] Bolte and Polívka, II, 300; Panzer, 16 ff.; I omit other variant openings. Bärensohn is suckled by a wolf in only one of the variants (note 11 above, § 11).

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courage. *Starker Hans* or *Strong John* [49] is a related märchen, whose hero is a bear's son in seven of the fifty-four variants cited by Panzer.[50]

The adventures of Bärensohn and Starker Hans begin after they leave the forest, and have no special resemblance to those of Namelos; nor is there any other story of this group that can be shown to have influenced our romance specifically. But such stories must have been known to our author, and must have helped to suggest the figure of Namelos — the beast-suckled, forest-dwelling wild youth, who later issues into the world armed with superhuman strength. We shall see in a moment that other attempts were made to fit Bärensohn into a chivalric story.

If we turn now to the stories that deal with the wild man's life in the forest, it seems possible to divide them roughly into two groups. In the first, the wild man appears episodically, as one of the creatures who make the forest dangerous to travelers.[51] So Gawain, seeking the Green Knight, is forced to fight

721 . . . *wodwos*,[52] *þat woned in the knarre*ȝ,

i.e., wild men that dwelt in the rocks — as well as worms, wolves, and other monsters. But the wild man attacks es-

[49] Aarne, 650 A; Grimm, 90; Bolte and Polívka, II, 285 ff.; Panzer, pp. 44–66.

[50] *O. c.*, p. 48.

[51] I have met helpful wild men only in the MHG. *Seifrid de Ardemont* (st. 147 ff., 438 ff.); they are modeled after the Helpful Lion and the Wild Herdsman of earlier stories, as shown by Panzer (*S. de A.*, pp. ciii, cxviii). The solitary met by Lancelot in *Rigomer*, 2283 ff., called by Bruce in his analysis a "wild man" (*Evolution*, II, 247), is merely an eccentric old hermit.

[52] On this word see Bosworth-Toller, *l. c.*, and *Century Dictionary*, *s. v. woodwose*. In OE. and ME. glosses it translates the Latin *satyrus*, *faunus*, *silvanus*, etc.

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pecially women. Gawain also, in *Diu Crône*,[53] has an adventure with *ein wilder wazzerman* who is carrying off a maiden; as in our romance, the creature is called *daz tier*.[54] A story of the early fourteenth century runs as follows:

A wild man (*wodewose*) carries off one of a group of damsels who have come to the forest to amuse themselves. A knight rescues the damsel, who however forsakes him when invited to do so by a younger knight. In contrast to the damsel's ungrateful conduct is that of a dog, who refuses to leave the older knight, his master. The two knights fight over the dog, the younger knight is killed, and the other goes off, leaving the ungrateful damsel alone in the forest.

In such a bald summary, the story is told in the form of explanatory inscriptions to a series of illuminations in the Taymouth *Horae*, an English MS. of about 1325. Professor Loomis, who has published the inscriptions,[55] has also identified scenes from the same story in another contemporary MS.[56] and on various art objects of the fourteenth century; and has shown that the story is "not only the most neatly

[53] 9129 ff.

[54] This episode is said by Panzer (*Seifrid de Ardemont*, p. cxx) to be imitated from that of the "wild woman" in *Wigalois*, 6285 ff.; the *Wigalois* wild woman appears again in *Seifrid de Ardemont*, st. 207 ff.; and from the same source is the *femme saulvage* in *Chevalier du Papegau*, p. 72 (F. Saran, in *Beiträge zur Gesch. der deutschen Sprache u. Lit.*, XXI, 1896, pp. 400 ff.; Heuckenkamp, *Chevalier du Papegau*, p. li).

[55] R. S. Loomis, "A Phantom Tale of Female Ingratitude," *MP*, XIV (1917), 751 ff.

[56] MS. 10 E IV. Royal, British Museum. These illuminations were thought by John Ashton to be illustrations of VO (*Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1882, p. 109), a misunderstanding which led him later to refer to 10 E IV. Royal as a MS. of that romance (*Romances of Chivalry*, p. 235; see above, p. 3). The illuminations are described in G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, London, 1921, I, pp. x, 334.

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pointed, but the only logically developed, form" of an episode found in various Arthurian romances [57] — none of which has the wild man, and each of which lacks in addition some other essential feature of the story. This wild man story, then, was "well known in England and France in the first half of the fourteenth century" [58] — at the time, that is, when the French VN was being written. Although Namelos does not appear as a molester of women particularly, the trait is elaborated in VO,[59] and may have been in the original French; and, at any rate, Namelos does attack the king's hunting-party.[60]

An ancient and widespread group of stories is that which tells how a supernatural being is captured and forced to reveal hidden wisdom.[61] Familiar literary treatments of the theme are the binding of Silenus in Virgil's sixth *Eclogue*, of Odin in the *Grímnismál*, and the capture of the leprechaun in Mr. Stephens' *Crock of Gold*. The wild man, too, in popular story, is hunted and captured; sometimes expressly for this purpose,[62] and sometimes for other reasons or none. Many versions of the märchen *Eisenhans* or *Goldener* [63] tell of a wild man who attacks travelers in the wood, and is therefore captured and imprisoned; released by the hero of the

[57] *Chevalier a l'Epée*, *Vengeance Raguidel*, prose *Tristan*, and Dutch *Lancelot* (Loomis, *l. c.*); cf. Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 304; Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, p. 237.

[58] Loomis, *o. c.*, p. 178.

[59] Ch. 11.

[60] Wild men as ravishers of women appear also later, in Boiardo, *Orlando innamorato*, I, xxiii, 6 ff., in the Elizabethan play *Mucedorus* (R. Dodsley–W. C. Hazlitt, *A Select Collection of Old English Plays*, London, 1874–76, VII), and frequently in the Renaissance masque (see the references given in note 42).

[61] Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, III, 106 ff.

[62] Mannhardt, *o. c.*, I, 96 ff., 112, 113.

[63] Aarne, 502; Grimm, 136.

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story, he shows his gratitude by protecting him and coming to his aid in critical situations.[64]

In medieval romance, the story of the capture of the wild man occurs twice in connection with Merlin. The *Vita Merlini* relates that Merlin, mad with grief at the death of his three brothers, took to living a wild life in the forest, but was restored to reason by the power of music (like Saul) and enticed back to court. Here, however, he became mad again, and had to be chained. In this condition he revealed hidden facts concerning the misconduct of the queen, then broke loose and went back to the woods. He returned once more, to punish his unfaithful wife,[65] was again taken and bound, again exhibited his powers of soothsaying, and finally went back to the forest, where his prophecies were written down by scribes. The story has relations (which do not seem clearly determined) with certain episodes in which Scotch and Irish saints meet wild prophetic hermits.[66] And in an episode of the Vulgate *Merlin*,[67] the soothsayer is represented as having taken the form of a wild man in order that he might be captured and might reveal the interpretation of a dream.[68]

On the other hand, according to certain very ancient tra-

[64] Bolte and Polívka, III, 94 ff.; Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, pp. 251 ff. This character is a wild man in six variants listed by Panzer, p. 257; in the others he is a magician, a dragon, a demon, a giant, etc.

[65] L. A. Paton, in *PMLA*, XXII (1907), 248 ff. (the wild man as an other-world lover who returns to claim his bride).

[66] F. Lot, in *Annales de Bretagne*, XV (1899–1900), 336 ff.; Bruce, *Evolution*, I, 140 ff.; J. J. Parry, in *Philological Quarterly*, IV (1925), 193 ff., and *Vita Merlini*, pp. 15 ff.

[67] Pp. 282 ff.; cf. L. A. Paton, "The Story of Grisandole," *PMLA*, XXII (1907), 234 ff.; Bruce, *Evolution*, I, 149 n. The Grisandole episode appears also in *Roman de Silence*, pp. 92 ff. Elsewhere in the Vulgate *Merlin*, Merlin appears as a Wild Herdsman (pp. 36 ff., 122, 180; cf. Paton, *o. c.*, p. 275, n. 2; Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 130).

[68] Another wild man who secures his freedom by making revelations is in the MHG. poem *Laurin*, D 175 ff.

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ditions, the capture of the wild man seems to be part of a magic ceremonial intended to secure fertility to the land; these traditions are no doubt connected with the agricultural festivals already mentioned,[69] but have left no trace in romance; they have recently been brought into connection with certain episodes in the legends of medieval hermits.[70]

The methods of capturing the wild man are various. One ancient method is that of lying in wait for him and getting him intoxicated.[71] Sometimes he is met with merely by chance, perhaps in the course of a hunt;[72] at other times, an expedition is organized with his capture in view, and he is taken by force, as in the hermit-legends studied by Williams. Both the latter methods are employed in VN: there is first the inadvertent meeting with Namelos by the hunting-party, and second, Valentin's expedition. The capture by intoxication may have suggested the comic scene of Orson's intoxication in VO, ch. 13; although this is after the capture, and there are romantic models.

There is no trace in our romance of the soothsaying or prophecy which elsewhere follows the wild man's capture. Instead, the wild man is tamed and civilized, and becomes a member of ordinary human society. This sequel is also

[69] P. 144 above.

[70] In these stories the wild man or hermit is captured through the wiles of a woman; they include the Hindu story of the hermit Rsyasrnga, and the story of Enkidu in the Babylonian Gilgamesh epic; C. A. Williams, *Oriental Affinities of the Legend of the Hairy Anchorite, Part I: Pre-Christian*, Urbana, 1925 (*Univ. of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, X, 2); cf. *MLN*, XLI (1926), 107.

[71] Bolte and Polívka, III, 106 n.; Mannhardt, *o. c.*, pp. 96 ff.; E. Rohde, *Der griechische Roman*[3], Leipzig, 1914, p. 219; Williams, *o. c.*, p. 14; Bacon, *Opus Majus* (ed. J. H. Bridges, Oxford, 1897–1900), I, 372.

[72] So in the German poem *Der Busant* (note 44 above), in a Celtic tale (Paton, p. 255), and usually in the hermit-legends related to the *Vita Merlini*.

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very old; Williams has pointed it out in the Gilgamesh epic.[73] Already in *Bärensohn* and *Starker Hans*, the hero, after his youth spent in the forest, goes out into the world. If such a story is to be a subject for romance, the world must be that of knightly adventure, the hero must learn the usages and become proficient in the practices of chivalry, and he must be made a person of noble birth. The process is seen completed in VN and *Tristan de Nanteuil;*[74] it appears in germ in two stories of the Beast-Marriage type. The first is from the English *Gesta Romanorum:*

The emperor Annuus, lost in the forest, relieves a lion of a thorn in his foot; he lives with a she-bear, who bears him two sons who resemble himself, and a daughter of bestial form. One day, in the absence of the bear, the emperor flees with his sons, and is led out of the forest by the lion. He regains his empire after an absence of three years. The sons, when they were come of age, were made knights, were strong warriors, went about in many strange lands, and got much wealth by dint of sword.[75]

The other story is told by William of Paris, in the thirteenth century:

A bear carried off to his den the wife of a knight, and made her the mother of sons. Later, the wife returned to her husband, and the sons also remained with him, and became knights.[76]

[73] *O. c.*, pp. 12 ff. It is interesting that the wild man Enkidu fights and is beaten by Gilgamesh, and later becomes his closest friend; there is no connection of course with VN, but a similarity of invention.

[74] Perhaps the *ome sauvage* tantalizingly referred to in the pseudo-Wauchier *Perceval* (20604) later became a knight, but all we know is that Gawain's son entered his room, and that (according to the reading of G. Paris, *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 193) he was handsome and was called Yoniaus. According to another reading, the "wild man" is the hero himself (Brugger, in *Loomis Studies*, p. 167), cf. note 97.

[75] Pp. 327 ff.; retold with valuable comment by Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, no. 57.

[76] Wilhelmus Parisiensis, *De Universo* (*Opera*, Venice, 1591, p. 1009), according to J. Hansen, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des*

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These versions of the Bärensohn märchen are noteworthy because, while retaining the primitive feature of the hero's animal descent, they show in their conclusions an attempt to adapt the story to a chivalric setting. The wild man is on the way to becoming a hero of romance. Our story shows the process further advanced, in that the hero is entirely of human, in fact of royal, ancestry, though suckled by a beast. In still other romantic stories, even the latter feature has disappeared, and the wild man is merely an Unsophisticated Youth who has lived in retirement. But these stories belong to a later phase of our discussion.

To sum up: the Wild Man of medieval romance is a composite of many elements, chief of which are the wood-spirit of popular belief and custom, of art and pageantry; the eccentric recluse of actual life; and the märchen hero who owes his extraordinary strength to his animal birth or upbringing. In medieval story, he makes travel dangerous in the forest, or (rarely) shows himself helpful; is frequently sought and captured; and occasionally becomes a member of human society. These ideas, which we have noted in folk-lore, legend, and romance, were the material from which our author formed his conception of the wild man Namelos.

And now, as Namelos mingles with human society, we can trace the influence of several other romantic figures.

Hexenwahns, Bonn, 1901, p. 85 (Wesselski, *o. c.*, p. 249). Spenser's Sir Satyrane (*Faerie Queene*, I, vi, 20 ff.) is a later hero of this type (pointed out to me by Professor R. H. Rusk): the son of a satyr and of a woman whom he overpowers in the forest, Satyrane grows up "in life and manners wilde, Emongst wild beastes and woods"; after conquering all the animals of the forest, he goes out into the world to seek adventure. Spenser also has (VI, iv ff.) a *salvage man* of noble birth and instincts, whose story he promises to give later in the poem, but it remains untold.

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10. *Namelos the Wild Man* (concluded)

. . . (While out walking with Valentin, Namelos lifts easily a wooden beam which fifty men were striving in vain to move; *in version B only.*) Valentin then has a club of brass made for Namelos, who receives it joyfully.

These adventures of the beam and the club belong to the Vilain, a comic figure in several of the *chansons de geste.*[77] The Vilains are: Rainouart, in *Willame, Aliscans,* and several later productions; Gautier, in *Gaydon;* Varocher, in *Macaire;* and Robastre, in *Garin de Monglane, Doon de Maience,* and *Gaufrey.*[78] According to Hünerhoff's study, the Vilain is a faithful servant or companion of some prince; he is distinguished by fidelity to his master, and stands on the side which enjoys the sympathy of the audience. Sometimes he is actually a *vilain,* a man of low birth; however, Rainouart, the earliest of the group, is of noble birth, but through circumstances has grown up estranged from his true class. The Vilain is described as enormously tall, strong and brave. In addition, he is clumsy and boorish in speech and manner. He fights with a beam, club (*tinel, massue, baston*) or axe, with which he plunges like a madman into the enemy's ranks, spreading slaughter. He is comic through eccentricity of appearance and manner, through excessive courage and violence in battle, and through excess in eating and drinking; without, however, becoming unsympathetic.[79]

The comic side of Namelos is not stressed, a fact which is due perhaps to the abbreviation of our texts; Orson in VO

[77] The Vilain has been studied by A. Hünerhoff, *Über die komischen "Vilain"-Figuren der af. Chs. de g.,* Marburg, 1894; J. Runeberg, *Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart,* Helsingfors, 1905; H. Theodor, *Die komischen Elemente der af. Chs. de g.,* Halle, 1913 (*Beihefte zur ZRP,* XLVIII), pp. 20 ff. None of these writers mentions VN.

[78] Hünerhoff, p. 17.

[79] *Ibid.,* pp. 6–8.

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is more of a comic figure. But Namelos has clearly elements of the Vilain. As regards our two adventures in particular: the fact that no one else can lift Rainouart's *tinel* is frequently insisted on; [80] in *Aliscans*, four men try in vain to budge the club, which Rainouart then lifts easily.[81] A similar thing is told of Robastre in *Garin de Monglane*,[82] and elsewhere it is said that Robastre can lift a weight which fifteen men could not; [83] while Varocher can carry as much as a horse.[84] The making of the club with the aid of a smith:

1222 *Valentin dar na maken bôt*
eme smede ene kolve grôt,
de wart bereit in korter stunt,
van mattane wôch se ein scippunt —

is in *Aliscans*, *Garin de Monglane*, and *Doon de Maience*.[85] The swinging of the club from one hand to the other:

1229 *do em de kolve was bekant,*
he sprank up in blider var
unde schermede her unde dar,
he sprank up unde nedder,
he schermede vort unde wedder —

is frequent in *Aliscans*, *e.g.*:

4655 *Ki li veïst le tinel manoier,*
Entor sa teste jeter et tornoier,
De l'une main en l'autre paumoier
Et contre mont lever et abaisier!

[80] Runeberg, p. 134.
[81] 3775 ff.; so also, 4634 ff.; *Willame*, 2749 ff.
[82] Hünerhoff, p. 41.
[83] *Ibid.*, p. 22.
[84] *Macaire*, 2960 (*ibid.*).
[85] *Ibid.*, pp. 39–40.

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So also in *Garin de Monglane;*[86] but Namelos seems to be modeled on Rainouart rather than on the later Vilains. Like Rainouart (who is alone among the Vilains in this respect), he is in reality a king's son; and, like him,[87] he remains on foot to the end: it is only in fragment N III, episode 20, that he is provided with a horse, when about to undertake his first solitary enterprise.

That a Wild Man on entering civilized society should act like a Vilain was of course to be expected. The similarity of the two figures is noted in *Macaire*, where, in speaking of the Vilain Varocher:

1428 *Dist l'un à l'altro: "El me par un troant,*
Homo salvaço, el n'oit li semblant."

In fact, it seems likely that Rainouart himself, at least in *Aliscans*, is a romanticised Bärensohn.[88]

The next episode in which Namelos plays an individual part is the thirteenth.

13. *The First Rescue of Phila*

. . . Blandemer, seeking his lady, has led Valentin and Namelos to the court of Araby [where Phila is about to be burnt]. The three come riding by, Blandemer recognizes Phila, and Valentin, urged by the "force of nature," offers to fight as her champion. This is agreed to, after an attack upon the three heroes by the king's men has been repulsed with great slaughter. Namelos and Blandemer are shut up in a tower, lest they should interfere with the combat. Valentin vanquishes the traitor Gawin; but the latter's friends, who have been watching in ambush, rush in and attack Valentin. Namelos, seeing this, breaks down the door of the tower, and he and Blandemer come to Valentin's assistance.

[86] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[87] *Ibid*, p. 31.

[88] Runeberg, *o. c.*, pp. 3, 125, 150; T. Walker, *Die af. Dichtungen vom Helden im Kloster*, Tübingen, 1910, pp. 82 ff.; G. Huet, *Les contes populaires*, Paris, 1923, p. 149; A. H. Krappe, in *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, XXIV (1923), 1 ff.

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A general mêlée ensues, in which the three heroes do so valiantly that at last the king begs them to have mercy. Gawin, after confessing his treason, is dragged through the streets and boiled in pitch, sulphur and wax. . . .

In Chapter III, the Rescue at the Stake has been discussed as an adventure of Phila. We have now to observe that the rescue of a mother from the stake occurs in certain romances whose hero issues from a youth spent in retirement, besides having other resemblances to our Namelos.

The Dümmling or Unsophisticated Youth is represented in romance by Perceval, Lancelot, Li Biaus Descouneüs and his foreign cousins (Libeaus Desconus, Carduino, Wigalois), Tyolet, Doon de Maience, Hélias in the swan-knight romance *Béatrix*, and the unnamed hero in the swan-knight romance *Isomberte*. He frequently resembles Namelos exactly in being "nameless" — in not knowing his name. This is originally because, if his name were known before he grew up, he would be in danger of being killed by his enemies.[89] That Perceval, Lancelot and Descouneüs are ignorant of their names on entering upon the world, is well known.[90] In the MHG. *Lanzelet*, the hero is called *der namelôse tumbe*,[91] which is close enough to our hero's name — or lack of one. Hélias declares that he has no name, in a passage reminiscent of

[89] A. C. L. Brown, in *MP*, XVII (1919), 368, 379, and XVIII (1920), 225; Bruce, *Evolution*, I, 208; cf. J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, pp. 318 ff.

[90] Relevant passages are: *Perceval*, 4748 ff.; *Parzival*, 140, 4 ff., 251, 29; *Sir Perceval*, 501 ff.; *Lancelot*, I, 117, 123, 125, 152; *Biaus Descouneüs*, 111 ff. Cf. P. Piper, *Höfische Epik*, Stuttgart, n. d., II, 173; J. L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, London, 1901, p. 26, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 91; W. H. Schofield, *Studies on the Libeaus Desconus*, Boston, 1895 (Harvard *Studies and Notes*, IV), p. 6; Lot, *Etude sur le Lancelot*, pp. 18 ff., 167. For another example of the idea, see *Chevaliers as deus Espées*, 6830 ff.

[91] Brown, *MP*, XVII, 370.

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Perceval;[92] and the swan-knight in *Isomberte* remains nameless throughout the story.[93]

All these heroes likewise, with the exception of Lancelot, have lived a wild life in the forest. Perceval is called by Chrétien *le vallet sauvage*,[94] and the English romance says, *He was a wilde manne*.[95] Carduino is mistaken by hunters for a Wild Man, and treated as such:

I, 18 ... "*Eco un uon selvagio,*"
E'lo scaciaron per la gran canpangna.

Hélias comes out of the forest dressed in leaves; he is hairy like a wolf or a bear, and carries a club;[96] in *Béatrix* we are told,

(p. 34) *Homme fol et sauvage a mervelle sanloit;*

and the fourteenth-century version calls him *ung homme tout sauvage*.[97] In other words, the romancers had noted the resemblance of the Unsophisticated Youth, as that of the Vilain, to the Wild Man; and it was a natural thing for our author to appropriate also an adventure belonging to the Unsophisticated Youth, namely, his rescue of his mother from the stake, which is his first exploit in *Doon de Maience*, *Béatrix*, and *Isomberte*. The resemblances are closest to

[92] G. Paris, in *Romania*, XIX (1890), 322.

[93] Of course, the point of the swan-knight's later adventures is the mystery about his name, and this doubtless suggested the prefixing to his story of the scene of the Unsophisticated Youth's arrival at court from *Perceval;* just as the rescue at the stake with which the later adventures open seems to have suggested the earlier rescue of the mother (as remarked by G. Paris, *l. c.*, p. 323 n. 2).

[94] L. 2167.

[95] L. 596.

[96] *Béatrix*, pp. 30, 31; *Chevalier au Cygne*, l. 1264, and p. 191.

[97] *Chevalier au Cygne*, 1396. On the Dümmling as a Wild Man, see W. Müller, in *Germania*, I (1856), 424; L. von Schroeder, in *Wiener Sitzungsberichte, Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, CLXVI (1910), 76 ff.; Brugger, in *Loomis Studies*, pp. 166 ff.

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Béatrix, with which also we noted some parallels towards the beginning of the poem.[98] Our author, then, must have known *Béatrix* or a romance much like it, which suggested the "namelessness" of his hero, and the episode of Rescue at the Stake; the latter then developed into an imitation of *Florence de Rome* and *Roman de la Violette*, as already noted.[99]

Of the latter part of the episode as a repetition of the commonplace Judicial Combat Interrupted I have already spoken,[100] but Namelos' breaking out of the tower now calls for consideration. Concerning this, we find a useful hint in the remarkable book of Boje, *Über den af. Roman von Beuve de Hantone*,[101] already more than once referred to in this study. The object of Boje's book was to prove *Bueve de Hantone* a composite of commonplace material; and, with this object in view, he tabulated the "motives" of the story, and noted all the occurrences of each "motive" in a list of one hundred and eighty-seven *chansons de geste* and romances. Among these he did the unusual thing of including VN and VO, which have been consistently neglected in studies of the kind; and he pointed out two places in which he thought VN borrowed from *Bueve*. This is one of them:

> The giant Escopart breaks out of a tower in which he has been imprisoned, and comes to help Bueve rescue Josiane, who is about to be burnt (*Boeve*), or married against her will (*Bueve*).[102]

Boje rightly says that the VN passage in which Namelos breaks out of the tower seems to be a reminiscence of this incident.[103] But this is not all of the truth. VN borrows

[98] Pp. 36, 37. [99] Pp. 74 ff. [100] P. 78.

[101] Halle, 1909 (*Beihefte zur ZRP*, XIX).

[102] *Boeve*, 2051 ff.; *Bueve I*, 4762 ff.; *II*, 6993 ff. I refer to the AN. text as *Boeve*, and to the three continental versions as *Bueve I*, *II*, and *III*, respectively; the names vary slightly in each.

[103] Boje, p. 117. His quotation of parallel passages can be slightly amplified: VN, 1698 *Namelôs quam in torne do, Unde tôch mit den*

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here also from another episode in *Bueve*, the Judicial Combat Interrupted:

Bueve is fighting the traitor Doon (in judicial combat, *Bueve I*). The latter's followers, seeing that he is getting the worst of it, come to his rescue from ambush; but Escopart and other friends of Bueve join the combat, and the traitors are overcome.[104]

Thus the episode cited by Boje supplies the idea of the breaking out from a tower of an eccentric companion, while the second episode cited supplies the idea of this same companion's coming to the aid of the hero when he has been traitorously attacked in the course of a judicial combat. The author of VN fuses the two episodes into one. The episode cited by Boje seems to be in turn a borrowing from *Yvain:*

Yvain is obliged to fight two *netuns* at the castle of Pesme Aventure, while his companion, the lion, is locked up lest he should interfere; but, as the combat continues, the lion manages to scratch his way out *au suel, qui porrissoit pres terre* (5611), and comes to Yvain's assistance.[105]

The adventure passed from the Helpful Beast of *Yvain*, through the giant of *Bueve*, to our Namelos, who thus acquired one more strain of ancestry.

The next adventure is that which supplies Namelos with a wife.

15. *The First Rescue of Rosemund*

Valentin and Namelos come to a green wood, where birds sing sweetly. A maiden is sitting under a tree; she warns them of the

klawen sîn Den grindel van den portelîn Unde slôch de porte mit der kolven; Boeve, 2083 *L'Escopart l'oy si prent a corucer, O ses dure ungles va sus le mur grater; Bueve II*, 7432 *Dalés un mur a vëu un tinel . . . Mervilleus cop en va a l'uis hurter.*

[104] *Bueve I*, 5645–68, 5858 ff.; *III*, 6809 ff.

[105] *Yvain*, 5457–5693. The passage was cited as a parallel to VN by Seelmann, p. lx.

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giant, who has slain many men there. She herself has sat there for nine years, less a month; after one month more, the giant will marry her. But it has been prophesied that she shall be avenged by a king's son who is dumb, and has never drunk woman's milk. The giant appears, and attacks Valentin; Namelos interposes; in the ensuing combat, Valentin is wounded, and Namelos kills the giant with his club and his claws. Valentin is restored by Clarina's wound-healing drink. Namelos kisses the maiden, whose name is Rosemund; she gives him a ring which will make him invisible; he leads her aside, lays her on the grass, and *spelde dat ere wille was, allent wes em duchte gût*. Rosemund then invites the brothers to visit her father, a duke of the Greeks (*so* H, Sw; of Carinthia, S); he will, however (she warns them), be angry that the giant is slain. Valentin and Namelos are in fact attacked, as they approach, by the duke's men; Namelos, using his ring and club, strikes down his adversaries. The duke at last asks his daughter to make peace; she does so; and Namelos and Rosemund are "given in the hand" by a priest (1887–2050).

The episode has two parts, of which the first is merely a repetition of the romantic commonplace, the Fight with a Giant to rescue a maiden;[106] and most of the features of this part are stock scenery.[107] The only characteristic feature is the prophecy. This particular prophecy of course could fit only this particular situation, and must have been invented for the purpose; but indeed there is no prophecy at all in any of the related stories. It seems to have been suggested by, and to combine, two ideas: the ambiguous oracle, familiar in Greek tradition and in the Macbeth story;[108] and the exploit reserved for a destined knight, so common in Arthurian romance.

[106] *Erec*, 5367 ff.; *Yvain*, 3770 ff.; *Biaus Descouneüs*, 1861 ff.; *Roman de la Violette*, 4639 ff.; *Chevaliers as deus espées*, 4193 ff.; etc.

[107] Birds singing, *Erec*, 5755; damsel under a tree, *Erec*, 5882, *Violette*, 4781; warning to flee, *Erec*, 5419 ff., *Violette*, 4678 ff.; time limit almost expired, *Descouneüs*, 1996, *Deus espées*, 4437.

[108] A few medieval examples are collected by Skeat, in note to Barbour's *Bruce*, IV, 209.

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In the second part, we meet with a difficulty. How are we to explain the absurd conduct of the Duke of the Greeks in attacking his daughter's rescuers? It seems to me that we have here clear traces of another common theme, the Enamored Moslem Princess [109] who, falling in love with a captured Christian knight, offers herself to him frankly, and aids him to escape, the exploit usually leading to a combat between the knight and his companions on the one hand and the lady's compatriots on the other. The episode was, I believe, in the French and Dutch versions of the romance, entirely separate and distinct from the Fight with the Giant, and in fact had to do, not with Rosemund at all, but with a second woman, whom the abbreviator to whom we owe the MLG. and the other short versions decided to suppress. In the Dutch fragments and in episode 23, we have other indications of her presence, and we shall return to her when discussing episode 23.

The ring of invisibility given to Namelos by Rosemund is used by him in the fighting with the Duke of the Greeks, and also in episodes 16 and 19; his adversaries are put to confusion, finding themselves attacked by a club in invisible hands. We may repeat here a portion of episode 19 from the Analysis:

19. *The Second Rescue of Phila and Blandemer*

. . . [Phila] warns them against the giant, who now appears, and a combat ensues (*fragment N III begins here*). Namelos, using his ring and club, finally succeeds in striking off the giant's arm, thus depriving him of his magic ring; he then kills the giant with a blow on the head from the club . . .

It was pointed out by Kalff [110] that the same combination of ring of invisibility and club is used by the dwarf Spyët

[109] So called, and discussed, by F. M. Warren, *PMLA*, XXIX (1914), 341 ff.; see, for fuller discussion, the remarks below on VO, ch. 62.

[110] *Gesch. der nederl. Letterk.*, I, 348; see above, p. 11.

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in *Malegijs*, a Dutch version of *Maugis d'Aigremont* which exists in fragmentary verse-form from the thirteenth century, and as a prose *Volksbuch*. One of the verse-fragments exhibits Spyĕt using his ring and club,[111] thus indicating clearly that the feature existed in the verse-romance; and in the prose, the situation is frequently repeated.[112] Since the combination of ring of invisibility and club is not known to me elsewhere,[113] and since it seems to rest upon Germanic ideas,[114] I think that we have here a borrowing from the Dutch verse *Malegijs* by a Dutch adapter of VN; and if so, the other versions of VN are dependent upon the same Dutch source, for they also have the ring and club.

Moreover, one of the passages in the prose *Malegijs* in which the ring and club figure has considerable resemblance to our episode 19:

> The fair Isane has been imprisoned by a heathen king, and, because she will not do his will, is daily whipped naked. A faithful knight, imprisoned with her, escapes and makes known her plight. An expedition is formed to release her, and the first exploit is that of Spiet, who, using the ring and club, kills two giant brothers, Fortunus and Crassus.[115] Crassus, like Madageer, is brained by his adversary's club.[116]

[111] J. Verdam, "Malegijs-Fragmenten," *Taal- en Letterbode*, VI (1875), 113 ff., lines 885 ff.

[112] Pp. 93, 95, 104, 132, 137, 143, 147, 344.

[113] There are, however, a *cloak* of invisibility and a club used in conjunction in *Garin de Monglane*, version N (Gautier, *Epopées*, IV, 134).

[114] *Ortnit*, 131 ff., etc.; *Laurin*, A 481 ff.

[115] There are also, it should be noted, two giants in VN (episodes 15 and 19), and they are brothers according to the MHG. prose, which certainly here preserves an original trait of the story, since the corresponding characters in VO (Ferragu and the Green Knight) are brothers also; cf. p. 18.

[116] A peculiarity of these two accounts; more usually, the club is the giant's own weapon (Boje, *o. c.*, p. 113; Wohlgemuth, *Riesen und Zwerge*, pp. 21 ff.), even though sometimes it is turned against him,

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The daily torture, the faithful knight who shares the lady's captivity, the deliverance by means of a combat with a giant (one of two brothers), involving ring and club, the nature of the *coup de grâce* — all these are paralleled in VN, and suggest a connection of some kind. But since the passage is preserved only in the prose *Malegijs*, which is later than VN, it may very well be that we have here a borrowing of the former from the latter; and in fact other parallels between VN and the prose *Malegijs* seem to point in the same direction.[117] The ring and club are absent of course in the French *Maugis* and the French VO.

Another ring figures in episode 19. The giant himself wears it, and it contains all his strength, so that he recovers strength when he looks at it, but is helpless when the arm with the ring is cut off. This is the märchen idea of the External Soul, frequent in folk-tales,[118] but rare in romance; I have found only one romantic example, in the Italian *Carduino*.[119] Perhaps the idea was introduced by the Dutch adapter; in the episode just cited from the prose *Malegijs*, one of the giants, like his adversary, possesses a ring of invisibility, and the Dutch poet, if he borrowed from a corre-

as in *Violette*, 4953 ff. The passage summarized is prose *Malegijs*, pp. 132 ff.

[117] These are: (1) the episode of the Wild Man (pp. 209 ff.), who like Namelos is of noble birth, is tongue-tied, and is rendered capable of speech by the cutting of a fillet (*spanader*) — presumably under his tongue, as in VN; (2) the requirement in the dragon-episode (pp. 229 ff.) that the dragon-slayer must have with him the milk of two king's children named Maria, which looks like a confused memory of the requirement for Rosemund's deliverance, episode 15.

[118] Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, III, 442 n.; J. G. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1923, II, 95 ff.

[119] Sts. 59 ff.; Carduino, *after* killing the giant, breaks a ring which he finds in the giant's belt, and the beasts devour the body; G. Paris (*Hist. litt.*, XXX, 190) recognizes this as a märchen trait "assez gravement altéré."

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sponding episode in the metrical version, may have altered the nature of this second ring for the sake of variety. What is clear at any rate is that the Dutch adapter, in this portion of the poem, worked pretty freely.[120]

The next episode in the complete versions that concerns Namelos alone is the last one of the story, but not the least mysterious:

23. *Reunion of Namelos and Rosemund*

Rosemund, resolving to seek her husband Namelos, disguises herself as a minstrel, and, with a single attendant (Issabele, N II), travels to the French court. (*Fragment N II begins here:* Namelos vehemently rejects some advice given him by Pippiin's daughter, and protests his loyalty to Rosemund; *in N II only.*) On her arrival, Rosemund objects to Namelos' attentions to Issabele. (*N II breaks off.*) Rosemund sings a song dealing with her past history, and ends by revealing herself, to the delight of Namelos (there is no disguise, but Rosemund comes with a large retinue, B); they rule Hungary after the death of Crisostomus (they rule Rosemund's unnamed realm, B) (2533–2646).

The mystery does not concern the source of the episode. As first suggested by Kalff,[121] it is from *Bueve de Hantone.*[122] Boje finds it also in *Aucassin et Nicolette, Galeran, Lion de Bourges, Ysaie le Triste,* and *Loher und Maller;* explains it as an invented repetition of Bueve's search for Josiane earlier in the romance; notes that all other occurrences of the in-

[120] Another borrowing of the Dutch VN from Dutch tradition is the sword-name *Scardelijn*, episode 19, N III; the name is from the Dutch *Aiol* (*Tijdschr. v. nederl. Taal- en Letterk.*, II, 1882, p. 220), as pointed out by Kalff (*Gesch. der nederl. Letterk.*, I, 348). As to the horse-name *Racheval* in the same fragment, Professor A. J. Barnouw has kindly informed me that *vale* means "fallow horse," and that *Rachval* is still a German family-name.

[121] *Fragmenten*, p. 210.

[122] *Bueve I*, 9969 ff.; *II*, 12542 ff.; *III*, 11924 ff.; *Bovo* (Italian), 2244 ff.

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cident are later than *Bueve;* and concludes that they are all borrowed from that romance.[123] A general caution against ascribing to a particular author the invention of a motive so widespread is voiced by Scheludko, in an article on *Aucassin et Nicolette;* [124] but the source for VN at any rate was undoubtedly *Bueve.*[125]

The difficulty lies (as noted by Seelmann) [126] in the lack of connection between the episode and the rest of the story. We have heard nothing of Rosemund since her marriage. Why has Namelos not gone back to her, and why is it necessary for her to seek him? There is no answer to these questions in the complete versions; but the Dutch fragments supply the hitherto-unnoticed clue.

Fragment N III (which was not discovered until 1892, too late for Seelmann's edition) gives one part of the clue in its closing lines, which I have summarized in the Analysis as the opening of episode 20:

> Namelos makes a slighting remark about women, and is reproached by Dalfadiane, and reminded that he is neglecting his duty to rescue Rosemund. He acknowledges the justice of the rebuke, and resolves to go to the rescue of his wife. Phila makes

[123] Boje, *o. c.*, p. 130. An altered form of the episode, apparently connected in some way with *Lion de Bourges*, is in *Roman de Silence*, p. 90.

[124] *ZRP*, XLII (1922), 474.

[125] Parallel passages, indicating the general similarity of the two episodes: VN 2544 *Lêt se sik scheren wol to prise, Bueve II*, 12599 *A unes forces a ses cheveus trenchiés;* VN 2553 *Se togen ên lant up, dat ander nedder, Dat ene vort, dat andere wedder, To lesten in Frankrike se quemen, Bueve III*, 11956 *Par toute terre vont Buevon demandant; Tant ont alé et arriere et avant, A Vauvenisse vinrent;* VN 2575 *Segget, van wat kunsten dat gi sîn! — Antworde gaf de vrowe fîn, Wi konen reden unde singen Unde hoveschen luden vrowede bringen. Wi hebben gebuwet vromede lant, Bueve III*, 12080 *Amis, dist ele, et dius vous puist sauver; De quoi siers tu? — Roïne, de chanter, De notes dire et de gens deporter; Pour vous servir sons venu decha mer.*

[126] P. lvi.

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him a knight, Dalfadiane gives him a horse, and he sets out alone for Samanien —

and there the fragment breaks off. The lines in which Dalfadiane recalls Rosemund's plight (330–48) are damaged, hence they cannot be read connectedly; but they contain such expressions as *die scone joncfrauwe . . . doocht grot verdriet . . . met valscen treken . . . kynt van haer geboren . . . haer ontvoert uten lande*, from which it is clear that Rosemund and her child have been carried away out of the country by false traitors, and that she is suffering great hardship. I have therefore indicated this missing episode in the Analysis as:

17. *The Abduction of Rosemund*

It must of course have followed episode 16, and may have either preceded or followed episode 18. The Dutch version resumes with fragment N II, whose opening lines I have thus summarized under episode 23:

Namelos vehemently rejects some advice given him by Pippiin's daughter, and protests his loyalty to Rosemund.

The lines themselves (again badly damaged) are as follows:

1 Ende ghink ter camere binnen.
Valentin sprac met zoeten zinnen
Tote sinen broeder dat h . . .
Daerna quam in corten . . .
Phyla die moeder siin
En van Vrankerike die coninc Pippiin
Alle namen si sine . . .[127]
Nameloos seide: "lieve oom,
U dochter dese vr . . . inne
Zoe zoude . . . minnen
Jhesus Karst gheve hare rouwe
Soe wild . . . ontrouw
Rosemonde den edelen wive
Soe riet mi . . .

[127] Kalff (*Fragmenten*, p. 217) proposes to read *sines goom:* they all turned their attention to him.

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So the speech breaks off, at the most interesting point. But the substance of Clarina's advice is evident; she wants Namelos to be untrue to Rosemund — in other words, to marry again; and he is protesting his loyalty to his wife.

The missing portions of the Dutch poem must therefore have recounted how, following fragment N III, Namelos, failing for some reason to rescue his wife as he had planned, returned to Pippiin's court, how she became in some way free without his assistance, and how Namelos meanwhile was in some way brought into contact with another woman whom Clarina thought he should marry. We are thus enabled to reconstitute in outline two missing episodes:

20. *Namelos and a Second Woman*
22. *The Second Rescue of Rosemund*

— and to add to episode 21:

Namelos returns unsuccessful from his expedition to rescue Rosemund.

Now, it is an interesting fact that the portion of *Bueve de Hantone* which precedes Josiane's appearance in minstrel disguise fits exactly into this gap in VN.[128] In *Bueve II*, for example, we read how the Saracens captured Josiane and one of her children, how she escaped through the aid of Bertram and Soibaut, and how meanwhile Bueve aided the queen of Sivele to overcome her enemies, and was obliged to marry the queen despite his unwillingness.[129] The details vary: in *Bueve I*, the marriage is one in name only ("keusche

[128] *Boeve*, 2711 ff.; *Bueve I*, 7114 ff.; *II*, 11565 ff.; *III*, 8804 ff.

[129] With the lines quoted above from N II, compare *Bueve I*, 9550 *Certes, ma dame, n'i a mestier celee, Iceste cose ne peut estre acievee, Car j'ai mollier, qui m'amor ai donee . . . Ja, se dieu plaist . . . Ne fauserai ja mais la bele nee.* The tone is different, but the sentiment is the same; so also *Bueve II*, 12261 ff., 12283 ff.; *III*, 11051 ff., 11085 ff.

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Scheinehe"); in *Bovo*,[130] Druxiana arrives, like Rosemund in VN, before Bovo actually marries Malgaria. But the parallel is clear. The missing portions of the Dutch VN must have contained events similar to those in this portion of *Bueve*. Since this is so, it is extremely likely that some of the events at least were borrowed from that romance, as was the incident of the minstrel disguise, which follows and completes them.

There was, then, in the Dutch VN, a series of events, in the main like those in *Bueve*, which brought Namelos into contact with a second woman whose name we do not know. That similar events existed in the French original is certain too, for Orson in VO is likewise involved with two women, one the counterpart of Rosemund, and the other a Saracen whom he meets later.[131] In the process of abbreviation to which we owe all the versions of VN other than the Dutch, all trace of this second woman was removed. However, two episodes were retained, which belong to her story, although she is not mentioned in them; one is the present episode 23, and the other, I think, is the second half of episode 15 — the fighting between Valentin and Namelos and the Greeks.[132] This latter episode also is only explicable as a part of the story of the second woman. If my guess concerning this episode is correct, the French poet did not follow *Bueve* slavishly in the missing incidents, but substituted for the Queen of Sivele episode one of the Enamored Moslem Princess type, which usually involves fighting with the lady's father. The story of the second woman (Galasie) in VO is of the latter type. But the missing events in VN cannot be supplied from VO, and their exact nature must remain a subject of conjecture — until more fragments are discovered.

[130] Lines 1731 ff.
[131] See pp. 240 ff.
[132] See p. 133.

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Meanwhile, it is clear that the three Dutch fragments are part of a single consistent story. This was doubted by de Vreese (who published fragment N III). How is it possible, he asked, for Namelos to start out at the end of N III to rescue his wife, and to turn up in N II without her, while she on the other hand comes looking for him?[133] The answer has been given by our discussion: Rosemund was rescued by somebody else, while Namelos became entangled with another woman; a Queen of Sivele, or Enamored Moslem Princess. The Dutch fragments belong to one version, and the other versions contain nothing inconsistent with the Dutch; the story has merely passed through the hands of an abbreviator before reaching them. On these matters our conclusions are in accord with those of te Winkel, which however were based on other grounds.[134]

A minor result of this discussion is that we can now understand how the poet came to invent the character Bliademee — a lady who is mentioned, only in N III, as the intended second wife of King Crisostomus.[135] The poet was so pleased with the situation in which a long-lost wife appears in time to prevent a second marriage that he doubled it. Just as Namelos was being urged to marry an unnamed lady when his wife Rosemund appeared, so we may presume that the arrival of Phila and her children at the court of Crisostomus was just in time to prevent the marriage of that monarch with Bliademee. What disposition was made of the two disappointed ladies, we can only conjecture; but we may feel sure that the poet, in accordance with tradition, had provided them with substitute husbands; whose names, and other deeds, have disappeared with so much else.

[133] *Tijdschr.*, XI, 144 ff.
[134] *Ibid.*, 229 ff.
[135] Analysis, episode 21.

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III. Valentin

The adventures in which Valentin appears as an individual are much less varied than those of his brother, and are confined to the period before the brothers leave Pipping's court. The episodes involved are 9, 10, and 11. It will be convenient, instead of repeating the Analysis of these episodes without interruption, to discuss them bit by bit.

9. *Valentin at Pipping's Court*

1. *Clarina gives the name Valentin to the child she has found.* — The name has no romantic associations,[136] but is a common one, being that of a popular saint. There is nothing in the life of St. Valentine that in the least resembles any of the incidents of either of the romances, VN or VO — as already remarked by Seelmann.[137] It is true that in VO (ch. 74), Valentin ends his life in the manner of St. Alexis, and is said to have been canonized. But there is no indication that he was identified in the mind of the author of VO with the historical St. Valentine; the saintly end is merely one more adventure added to the series, although it may have been suggested by the saintly name. The original choice of the name, by the author of VN, must have been entirely arbitrary.[138] The name Clarina was taken

[136] I have come across it only in *Reali di Francia*, II, 40, where there is a minor character Valentino di Baviera (Valenziano di Baviera, III, 11).

[137] P. lvi.

[138] Percy, in his *Reliques* ballad (ed. H. B. Wheatley, London, 1876-77, III, 265), first connected the story with St. Valentine by saying that the hero got his name from his being found on the saint's day (lines 35, 36). Schmidt, in 1825, discussing the saintly end, remarked that Valentin (of the romance VO) "was put by the romancers in the place of St. Valentine" (*Jahrbücher der Literatur*, XXXI, 138). Just what Schmidt meant is not clear; but if he meant, as Gerould supposes he did (*PMLA*, XIX, 1904, p. 439), that VO was "a romantic version of the legend of St. Valentine," he had no ground for thinking so.

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perhaps from the source of the MHG. *Lanzelet*,[139] or from the source of *Generides* (see below).

The remaining events of this section follow a familiar pattern, which, because it occurs in *Bueve de Hantone*, has been studied by Boje, and called by him the Stay at a Foreign Court.[140] Boje lists in all twenty occurrences of this "motive," including our two romances VN and VO.[141] A careful comparison of our text with these passages and with the various versions of *Bueve*[142] leads to interesting conclusions.

2. *and rears him secretly.* — Usually, in the Stay at a Foreign Court, the hero is at or near maturity when forced to flee from home and seek his fortune abroad; combination of the episode, as here, with a foundling story, occurs only in *Guillaume de Palerne* and in *Parise la Duchesse.* The king with whom the hero takes refuge is his uncle only in *Reali di Francia;* here, as in VN, the traditional situation in which the nephew is fostered by the uncle was in the writer's mind.[143] The hero is page to the king's daughter in *Guillaume de Palerne* and in *Bovo*, and takes care of her horse in *Bueve I* and *II*.

3. *At the age of twelve, he is extraordinarily brave and handsome.* — Such a description of the hero is a commonplace.[144] It seems peculiar to VN that so early an age is specified; the more usual age is fifteen.[145]

[139] Analysis, p. 171.

[140] "Der Aufenthalt beim fremden König"; Boje, *o. c.*, pp. 74 ff.

[141] To his list may be added *Guillaume de Palerne*, 401–2555.

[142] (AN.) *Boeve*, 416 ff.; (English) *Beues*, 581 ff.; (continental) *Bueve I*, 903 ff.; *II*, 1776 ff.; *III*, 1560 ff.; (Italian) *Bovo*, 446 ff.

[143] Cf. W. O. Farnsworth, *Uncle and Nephew in the OF. Chansons de Geste*, New York, 1913; C. H. Bell, *The Sister's Son in the Medieval German Epic*, Berkeley, 1922 (*Univ. of California Publ. in Mod. Philol.*, X, 2); this writer refers to VN, p. 164.

[144] Boje, p. 75.

[145] *Boeve*, 416; *Beues*, 581.

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4. *Clarina declares her love to him.* — Another trait common in this episode, though nowhere else does it occur as here without preliminary.[146]

5. *He advises her to set her thoughts on someone else, for he has not yet done any deeds of valor.* — Again a commonplace, and again a peculiarity in VN: the hero calls attention to his tender years:

701 *dre jâr bin ik noch ein kint,*
dat is dôrheit, dat gi mi mint.

Perhaps the hero was made so young in order to enhance the glory of his exploits; perhaps too there was the thought that Blandemer was waiting in prison for Valentin to grow up and rescue him; and Blandemer must be young enough to marry Clarina at the end of the story.

6. *The chamberlain, standing by, objects to Clarina's kissing the "foundling."* — The only parallel here — and this is a curious point — is the Italian *Bovo:* Ugolin upbraids Druxiana for standing in the stable and talking to the squire, when her father and her fiancé are in peril on the battlefield.[147]

7. *Valentin, angered, strikes off the chamberlain's head with his bare hand, and kills four others who try to seize him. He is eventually overcome and imprisoned.* — In *Bovo*, the hero

[146] Compare: VN 686 *Dar to dwank se de minne, Dat se en kussede vor sinen munt Mêr den to dusent stunt. Do sprak de juncvrowe fîn To deme jungen Valentîn ' Mîn lêf, mîn trût, mines herten lust!' Mit des druckede se ene vor de brust; Bueve III,* 1818 *Amours l'esprent, qui le fait angoissier, Estroit le baise et prent a enbrachier, Cortoisement l'en prist a araisnier — Damoisiaus sire, je vous ai forment chier.*

[147] In *Parise*, when the king announces that he will give Hugues his daughter and make him his heir, a courtier remonstrates, calling the hero *li pautroniers trovez*; but this is a commonplace of the Foundling story, which in *Parise* as in VN is (exceptionally) combined with the Stay at a Foreign Court.

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attacks Ugolin and cuts off his arm, which closes the incident. But nearly every version of *Bueve* has an adventure of some kind preceding the later battle.[148] Most like VN, because of its consequences, is the episode in *Beues:* Beues kills fifty Saracens who attack him on Christmas Day, and his method of operation is the same:

VN 716 *Valentîn de slôch do*
deme kemerer mit bloter hant
dat eme sîn hovet van deme buke sprank;

Beues 637 *sum he strok of þe swire,*
þat þe heued fleȝ in to þe riuere.

8. *The king is angry with Valentin, but Clarina intercedes for him, saying that his father is a king in Portugal.* — The king's anger and the daughter's intercession are only in *Beues*, following the killing of the fifty Saracens. The correspondence in incidents 6, 7, and 8 with the Italian and English versions of *Bueve* is noteworthy. In *Beues*, however, the king, in answer to his daughter's entreaties, sends for Beues, hears his story, and pardons him; while Valentin remains in prison. A closer parallel at this point is the English *Generides*. Here a knight Malichias slanders the lovers; the Sowdon swears they shall die. Generides is put in prison, and tormented by Malichias; he kills the latter with a blow of his fist. The Sowdon is still angrier, sends for Generides, and accuses him in presence of the lords; but the lords prevail upon him to respite the judgment; Generides meanwhile remains in prison.[149] It is perhaps significant that the heroine's name in *Generides* is Clarionas.

9. *The King of Spain now sends for help against the Sara-*

[148] In *Boeve*, the hero overcomes ten foresters; in *Beues*, ten foresters and twenty-four knights; in *Bueve I* and *II*, and *Bovo*, he distinguishes himself in a tournament.

[149] *Generides B*, 1349 ff.; practically the same as *A*, 2553 ff.

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cens. — In all other versions of the episode, the enemy invades the territory of the king himself. The circumstances here are altered to conform to the traditions of Carolingian romance. The call for help from the king of Spain is from *Anseïs de Carthage* [150] or *Aye d'Avignon;* [151] the king appealed to in both being Charles, not Pepin.

10. *Pipping and his host go to Seville and fight them, but with poor success.* — The fighting involves a siege of Seville; by whom, is not clear from the confused account, which shows no evident indebtedness to any account we have of Charlemagne's Spanish exploits. Of course our author is here independent of any Carolingian tradition; having put Pepin in the place of the distressed monarch of the Stay at a Foreign Court episode, he is obliged to make him unsuccessful until the hero intervenes. The real parallels are in that episode, which nowhere else involves Charles (in this rôle) or Pepin. Thus, in *Jourdain de Blaivies*, a Saracen knight has overthrown several Christians, when the hero asks permission to fight him; in the *Charlemagne* of Girard d'Amiens,[152] Mainet arrives in the battle as the French are about to give way; in *Bovo*, the king is captured before the hero enters the fight.

11. *Pipping sends to Clarina for reënforcements, which she gathers.* — Only in *Bovo* does the king's daughter gather reënforcements.

12. *On Valentin's asking to be allowed to go,* — So in *Horn et Rimenhild, Floovant,*[153] and *Jourdain; Bueve* is not particularly close here.

13. *she arms and knights him.* — So only in *Bueve, Bovo,* and *Jourdain;* elsewhere, the ceremony of knighting is per-

[150] 9194 ff.
[151] P. 25.
[152] Paris, *Hist. poétique*, p. 473.
[153] Fragments in *Romanische Forschungen*, X (1899), 248 ff.

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formed by the king, though sometimes at his daughter's request. Of course the king here is not available, being abroad.[154]

14. *and makes him leader of the expedition.* — The hero frequently leads the army; but only in *Bovo* does he lead an auxiliary expedition.

15. *Through the valor of Valentin, the Saracens are put to flight; their king (Tzimarin, H; Lyamin, S; Samarin, Sw) is captured by Valentin, and agrees to repair the damage done, and to make war no more.* — So everywhere.

16. *As a reward, Valentin asks and obtains pardon for the killing of the chamberlain.* — In *Generides*, the pardon for the manslaughter occurs before the battle. Nowhere else is there any offense to be pardoned, but of course there is always a reward; in *Bovo* and *Bueve III*, the hero, hitherto a serf, is given his freedom.

17. *All return home, and Clarina receives Valentin with marks of favor.* — So usually. In *Bueve, Horn et Rimenhild, Florent et Octavian*, and VN, the lady invites the hero to her room.[155]

10. *Namelos the Wild Man*

18. *Next day, the king, hunting in the forest, pursues a wild man . . . The wild man wounds the king with his claws, and puts him to flight. Valentin goes to the forest and fights with*

[154] Parallels of detail: VN 893 *Ein schone ros brachte men do, . . . Dar up de junge ridder sprank, Sunder stegerêp dede he dat, Boeve*, 542 *La pucele li doune un destrier prisé . . . Boefs mounte sus, ki estru ne sout gré, Bueve I*, 975 *Puis sailli sus, c'ains estrier n'i bailla.*

[155] VN 1046 *Valentîn al unvorsaget Nam de stolte junge maget Bi der hant unde gink do In de kemenaden unde weren vro. Se kussede ene an sine munt In vroweden mêr den dusent stunt. Dar na wart em bereit Ein bedde deme riddere meit, Bueve III*, 2117 *Dedens sa cambre l'en mena a deport . . . Et Josienne l'a estroit enbrachié . . . Dedens sa cambre l'a en un lit couchié.*

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the wild man, who at last surrenders to him . . . — In *Boeve* and in *Beues* also, the hero puts a stop to the depredations of a dangerous monster; although this incident, the boar-hunt, precedes the battle. One detail of the fight is curiously alike in VN and in *Beues:* there is a lull in the fighting, the hero's adversary starts away, and later returns.[156] Perhaps our author took a hint for this scene from a French original of *Beues.*

11. *The Brothers Leave Pipping's Court*

19. *Valentin then determines to leave court and seek his father and mother . . .* — In every version, the hero leaves the "foreign court" at about this point, for some reason or other, and a new train of adventure begins. The reason for leaving court here is of course part of the main plot (Chapter II).

20. *They bid farewell to Clarina, who attempts in vain to dissuade Valentin from leaving by offering to be his wife.* — Similar scenes are only in *Bueve I, Horn et Rimenhild,* and *Orson de Beauvais.*[157]

21. *She gives them a flask of wound-healing liquor.* — The heroine of this episode heals the hero's wounds after the battle, only in *Beues* and *Horn Childe.*[158] This feature was doubtless in the French VN, for Clarina offers to heal the hero's wounds after the fight with Namelos; we are not told that she does so, which must be the abbreviator's fault.

[156] VN, 1109 ff.; *Beues,* 799 ff.

[157] VN 1246 *Unde bat, dat he wolde sparen De reise unde wolde nergen varen, Se wolde wesen sines sulves brût . . . 'Her ridder, ik bin ju bereit, To juweme bode wil ik stân, De wile ik dat levent hân.' He sprak 'dat en mach nicht sîn; Bueve I,* 2142 *Par foi, amis, et se n'i alés ja! . . . O vous irai, par dieu qui tout cria, Ja li miens cors sans vous ne demora. Et respont Bueves: Ce ne m'avenra ja.*

[158] *Beues,* 715 ff.; *Horn Childe,* 790.

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If we try to gather together the results of this comparison, we must be struck by the correspondences between VN and the non-continental versions of *Bueve*. Laying aside incidents 3, 4, 5, and 15, which are practically universal in the episode, and 1, 9, and 19, which serve to connect the episode with the main plot and with Carolingian tradition, there remain fourteen incidents. Of these, three are paralleled *only* in the Italian *Bovo:*

6. *A courtier objects, in the lady's presence, to the favor which she is showing to the hero.*

11. *The lady gathers reënforcements for her father's army.*

14. *The hero leads this auxiliary expedition.*

Incidents 7 and 16 —

7. *The hero kills the objecting courtier,*

16. *and is later pardoned* —

occur together only in *Generides*, but *Bovo* has a modification of 7 (following immediately on 6), and for 16 has emancipation after the battle instead of pardon.[159] Another incident —

13. *The lady arms and knights the hero* —

occurs in *Bueve* and *Jourdain de Blaivies* as well as in *Bovo;* and for three others —

2. *The hero, a foundling, is reared by the king's daughter.*

10. *The king has poor success in the war until the hero intervenes.*

12. *The hero asks to be allowed to fight* —

there are more or less close parallels to *Bovo* as well as to other romances. Of the remaining five incidents, one is found *only* in the English *Beues:*

8. *The lady intercedes for the hero, in disgrace because he has committed manslaughter;*

one, only in *Beues* and the AN. *Boeve:*

[159] So has *Bueve III*, as already noted; but in *Bueve III* there is nothing corresponding to incident 7.

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18. *The hero overcomes a dangerous monster;*

and one, only in *Beues* and the English *Horn Childe:*

21. *The lady heals the hero's wounds* (missing but clearly indicated in VN).

The last two:

17. *The lady, after the battle, takes the hero to her room.*

20. *She attempts to dissuade him from leaving court —*

are each in the continental *Bueve*, and in two other romances, but are lacking in the Italian and English.

Making all allowance for chance resemblance, it seems to me likely that our author, in this section of his romance, drew his material from at least two versions of the *Bueve* story, of which one was very much like the Italian *Bovo*, while the other belonged to the family of the AN. *Boeve* and the English *Beues*. Only the two incidents last mentioned (17 and 20) would not be thus accounted for; they may of course have been in one or the other of these sources, or they may be from a third source, of the continental group.

The existence of a common original for *Boeve* and *Beues* is generally assumed, and there is no reason why this original, or some version related to it, may not have been used by our author. Regarding *Bovo*, opinions differ as to its origin and relation to the other versions.[160] Our present results, without throwing any conclusive light on the problem, tend to reduce the element of originality in *Bovo;* for the resemblances between VN and *Bovo* can hardly be a matter of chance, and if not, they point to the existence of a French version of *Bueve* which was similar, at least in this portion of it, to the Italian. This result is not unlike that already reached in our discussion of *Fioravante*.[161]

A word should be added as to the manner in which the Stay at a Foreign Court episode is fitted into the story. It

[160] See p. 63.

[161] Pp. 64 ff.

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is of course impossible that Valentin should marry the heroine of the episode, for he has to marry later the lady who tells him who he is. How is Clarina to be disposed of? The difficulty is solved by laying the scene of the episode at the court of Pipping, Valentin's uncle; so that the revelation of Valentin's identity puts it out of the question for him to marry Clarina, his cousin. The point is explicitly made in the MHG. prose,[162] which here again has retained a feature of the original story obscured in the other versions. By this device, our romance acquired two common situations: that in which the nephew is fostered by the uncle,[163] and that in which a hero whose birth is unknown is made love to by a close female relative.[164]

We have now reached the end of our discussion of the sources of *Valentin und Namelos*. The reader will recall that we began (Chapter I) by recognizing the story as in the main a romanticised version of the Jealous Sisters märchen. In Chapter II, we discussed the episodes which correspond in outline to the märchen; in Chapter III, those that have to do with the queen's exile; and in Chapter IV, those in which the brothers appear as individuals. The results of the discussion may be thus summarized by episodes:

1. *The Marriage.* — Adapted from the märchen under the influence of the *Olive* and *Berte* stories, with original motivation of the villainy (Ch. II).

2. *The Prediction.* — A borrowing from the Fate type of story, with suggestions perhaps from *Constant* and *Dolopathos* (Ch. II).

[162] Analysis, episode 21.

[163] See p. 143.

[164] *Aiol*, 2257 ff., 8122; *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 3412 ff.; *Renier* (Analysis, pp. 64 ff.); *Enfances Garin* (Gautier, *Epopées*, IV, 121, 124); *Tristan de Nanteuil* (Analysis, p. 358).

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3. *The Conspiracy.* — From the märchen (Ch. II).

4. *The Birth, Exposure, and Finding of Valentin and Namelos.* — The birth and exposure are from the märchen story; some details are from the swan-children romances (Ch. II). The separation and contrast of brothers, on the other hand, develops in romantic literature from *Eustace* and stories of its kind, through *Guillaume d'Angleterre, Belle Hélène, Octavian,* and *Maugis d'Aigremont,* to VN and *Tristan de Nanteuil.* Of these, *Eustace* or a story like it, *Octavian,* and *Maugis* were probably used by our author. The two types of story are combined by the unique device of separation *through* exposure, and by making the Stealing Wolf a Suckling Beast (Ch. IV).

5. *The Accusation and Banishment of Phila.* — The accusation is a thinly disguised form of that which appears in some variants of the märchen, and in other related stories, including *Charles le Chauve:* namely, that the mother has eaten the children. The other circumstances are from romance, with apparent influence of the *Olive* story, *Sibille* (in a lost version known to Jean d'Outremeuse), *Parise la Duchesse,* and *Doon de Maience* (Ch. II).

6. *The Temptation.* — From the Manessier *Perceval,* or perhaps the *Queste del Saint Graal;* with use of another Arthurian motive, the Dangerous Meal (Ch. III).

7. *The Rescue of Lyca.*
8. *The False Palmer.* } — Rearranged and adapted from some version of *Floovant* which told the same story as the parallel passages in *Fioravante* and *Reali di Francia* (Ch. III).

9. *Valentin at Pipping's Court.* — From *Bueve de Hantone,* and apparently in the main from the lost originals of the English and Italian versions, or other versions closely related to these (Ch. IV).

10. *Namelos the Wild Man.* — Namelos is one of many similar figures in medieval story and modern folk-lore. The

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chief ingredients of the Wild Man are the wood-spirit of popular belief and custom, of art and pageantry; the eccentric recluse of actual life; and the märchen hero who owes his extraordinary strength to his animal birth or upbringing. In medieval story, the Wild Man makes travel dangerous in the forest, is frequently sought and captured, and occasionally becomes a member of human society. Namelos' feat of strength and his club are from the adventures of the Vilain in the *chansons de geste;* of these, Namelos is most like Rainouart. The inadvertent Combat of Brothers is a theme which in *Parzival, Maugis*, the Italian *Octavian* versions, Huth *Merlin*, and *Generides*, involves also the contrast of the brothers; VN borrows probably from *Maugis*, and is borrowed from in turn by *Tristan de Nanteuil.* As an adventure of Valentin, the fight with Namelos corresponds to the boar-hunt in the English *Beues of Hamtoun* (Ch. IV).

11. *The Brothers Leave Pipping's Court.* — From the märchen, with original motivation (Ch. II); some details are part of the *Bueve de Hantone* borrowing begun in episode 9 (Ch. IV).

12. *The Rescue of Blandemer.* — Part of the borrowing from *Floovant* begun in episode 7, with some touches from Arthurian sources (Ch. III).

13. *The First Rescue of Phila.* — The accusation episode is of the *Crescentia* type, and is mainly from the fourteenth-century version of *Florence de Rome;* the joining of such an episode with a Rescue from the Stake by judicial combat seems to be from *Roman de la Violette* (Ch. III); the rescue of a mother from the stake as an exploit of the Unsophisticated Youth (Namelos) is from the swan-children romance *Béatrix*, or a related story; and the Judicial Combat Interrupted is a combination of two incidents from *Bueve de Hantone* (Ch. IV).

14. *Giant Magros.* — Adaptation of an episode from Ar-

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thurian romance (*Atre Perillos*, Dutch *Lancelot*, *Gérard de Nevers*, Gerbert *Perceval*, *Claris et Laris*, *Perlesvaus*), which we named Lady in the Water, and attempted to trace to its origin; VN is most like *Atre Perillos*, but retains in the name Madageer (N III) evidence of the use of a source common to *Vengeance Raguidel*, *Livre d'Artus*, and the other romances named (Ch. III).

15. *The First Rescue of Rosemund.* — The first half of the episode is a repetition of a commonplace, the Rescue of a Maiden from a Giant; the second half seems to belong to a later and lost portion of the romance. The ring of invisibility, used here and later by Namelos, is probably borrowed by a Dutch adapter from the Dutch *Malegijs* (Ch. IV).

16. *The Brothers Aid Their Father against the Saracens.* — A romantic commonplace; perhaps an adaptation of the first visit to court in the märchen (Ch. II).

[17. *The Abduction of Rosemund.* — From *Bueve de Hantone*. The episode is missing in the romance as we have it, but is alluded to in the Dutch fragments (Ch. IV).]

18. *The Revelation of Identity.* — The episode corresponds to the Quest of the Talking Bird in the märchen; but has had combined with it the motives of Protecting Monster, Guiding Beast, Serpent-Disenchantment by a Kiss, and Breaking of an Enchanted Object. Possible romantic sources are *Biaus Descouneüs*, the MHG. *Lanzelet* or its source, and the prose *Lancelot* (Ch. II).

19. *The Second Rescue of Phila and Blandemer.* — The rescue of the mother is from the märchen (Ch. II); the fight with the giant shows influence of the Dutch *Malegijs* upon the Dutch and German VN (Ch. IV); and there is also perhaps some influence of *Kudrun* in the recognition scene (Ch. III, under episode 14).

[20. *Namelos and a Second Woman.* — Missing episode, reconstructed in outline from a study of the Dutch frag-

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ments and comparison with *Bueve de Hantone* and VO (Ch. IV).]

21. *Reunion, Punishment of the Villain, Marriages.* — The necessary end of the märchen and of all proper stories (Ch. II).

[22. *The Second Rescue of Rosemund.* — Missing episode, reconstructed in outline from a study of the Dutch fragments and comparison with *Bueve de Hantone* (Ch. IV).]

23. *Reunion of Namelos and Rosemund.* — From *Bueve de Hantone* (Ch. IV).

As to relations of the versions, our study has shown that the three Dutch fragments form part of a single version;[165] that the other versions are all derived from the abbreviation of a version whose story was the same as that of the Dutch,[166] and that they probably have a Dutch original;[167] and that the MHG. prose (B) is not dependent upon the other abbreviated versions, but has retained certain features of the original story.[168]

By-products of the discussion have been: the explanation of two Arthurian stories — the Lady in the Water, and the Guillotine — as originally adventures of Gawain in the realm of the dead, and the tracing of their successive modifications in romance (Ch. III); the proof that the "interpolation" in *Atre Perillos* is part of the story (*ibid.*); and the indication of lost French sources for the Italian *Fioravante* (Ch. III) and *Bovo* (Ch. IV).

[165] Pp. 137 ff.
[166] Pp. 61, 74, 133, 137 ff.
[167] Pp. 134, 135.
[168] Pp. 15, 65, 125, 134, 151.

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CHAPTER V

VALENTIN ET ORSON: I

Such being the fourteenth-century version of our story — *Valentin und Namelos* — we are henceforth concerned with the fifteenth-century version — *Valentin et Orson.*

The chief facts concerning VO, already given in the Introduction to this study, may here be recalled. VO is met with first as a French prose romance, printed at Lyons by Jacques Maillet in 1489; from this edition all others are derived, nor is any manuscript of the French text known. The first half of the story is clearly another version of that of VN, so that a single generalized summary would serve for both; and it is agreed that VN and VO are independent versions of the same French original, now lost.[1]

Copies of the first edition of VO are in the British Museum, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the library of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan of New York; the latter copy has been thus described in the Morgan catalogue:

"No. 609. 1^a, title: Valentin et Orson || 136^a. Cy finist lystoire des deux vail- || lans cheualiers Valentin et Orson || filz de lempereur de grece Imprime || a lyon le penultime iour du mois de || may par Iaques maillet Lan mil || quatre cens quatre vingtz et neuf. ||

"Folio, a – r^8. 136 leaves; 2 columns; 38 lines. Initial-directors. 215 × 145 mm. Type 1. Proctor,[2] 8617.

[1] Above, pp. 3 ff.

[2] R. Proctor, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum*, London, 1898. The book is also listed in W. A. Copinger, *Supplement to Hain's Repertorium Bibliographicum*, London, 1895–1902, nos. 3015, 5919, and described in G. Brunet, *La France littéraire au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1865, p. 206.

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"1^a, title; 1^b, cut; 2^a – 4^b, table; 5^a – 136^a, text; 136^b, blank.

"One folio cut (1^b, 198 × 125 mm.) here shown, and 31 not quite filling a column in breadth (73–75 × 60–61 mm.), made 40 by repetition. A few of the small cuts have breaks in the margins witnessing to previous use, but the majority are quite fresh. That from sig. h_8 recto here shown is in a different style from the others, and much more delicate. . . .

"268 × 188 mm. Initials in red. From the Earl of Crawford's and Bennett collections. Brown morocco, by Bauzonnet-Trautz." [3]

Through the kindness of Mr. Morgan and his librarian, Miss Belle da Costa Greene, I have been able to make use of this copy for the purposes of the present study.

The most obvious point of difference between the French prose romance VO and the MLG. verse romance VN which we have just studied is the much greater length of VO. VN, in the MLG. text, is a poem of 2646 lines, or (counting five words to a line) approximately 13,000 words; VO occupies 263 pages (exclusive of title and contents) in double column, or (counting five hundred words to a page) approximately 130,000 words — ten times as many. Any reader who has had the patience to follow me thus far may well experience here a sinking of heart. But let him take courage. The discussion of VO will not be ten times as long. This is so, not only because the first half of VO tells, with some alterations, the same story as VN; but also because VO has much fewer events to the page. VN's story is drastically abbreviated and baldly told, while VO is leisurely, even prolix; the story moves along slowly through innumerable speeches and worn-out tags of style. A single example

[3] *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books from the Libraries of William Morris, Richard Bennett, Bertram, Fourth Earl of Ashburnham, and Other Sources, Now Forming Portion of the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan: Early Printed Books, Vol. III*, London, 1907, pp. 62 ff. The full-page cut mentioned is reproduced on p. 63, and folio h_8 recto on p. 62, including the smaller cut mentioned and the opening of ch. 27.

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of the contrast in scale will suffice. In VN, after sentence of banishment has been passed upon the unfortunate queen, she and her companion are dismissed in two brief and not ineffective lines:

367 *aldus rumeden se de lant*
unde togen wege unbekant.

In VO (ch. 3), there is a long scene in which first the inhabitants of Constantinople, and then the lady herself, lament over the situation; which scene, in a discussion of the sources of the story, calls for no comment.[4]

It is clear that the author of VO was no master of style; but, like his predecessor, he was extremely well informed as to the contents of all the narrative literature of the day, and he hit the taste of his time, and of later times as well, by producing what is in some sort a compendium of many of the favorite stories and situations. The disentangling of the threads will therefore be an instructive, and it is hoped a not uninteresting, exercise. For the reasons already given in the Introduction,[5] we shall continue to assume that VN represents substantially the story of the lost original; and we shall find the assumption confirmed as we compare the parallel portions.

In order first to offer a general view of the story and its relation to VN, I give here a very short Analysis, placing opposite those portions which have parallels in VN the name of the parallel VN episode. The numbers in the VO Analysis are those of the chapters into which the story is divided.[6]

[4] A specimen of the text is offered in Appendix I.

[5] Above, p. 7.

[6] The only previous analysis is that by Seelmann, *Valentin und Namelos*, pp. xl ff. Seelmann's chapter numbering varies slightly because he used a later edition.

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Analysis of VO	Parallel Episodes in VN
1 Alexandre, Emperor of Constantinople, marries Bellissant, sister of King Pepin.	1. The Marriage.
2 An Archbishop, in Constantinople, makes proposals of love to the Empress, which she rejects with spirit.	(2. The Prediction.)
3 He falsely accuses her of infidelity to her husband; she is banished with Blandimain, a faithful squire.	3. The Conspiracy.
4 The Archbishop pursues them, fights with Blandimain, but flees when recognized by Guygard, a passing merchant.	
5 Bellissant gives birth in the forest of Orleans to two sons; one, Orson, is carried off by a bear, and the other, Valentin, is found and adopted by Pepin.	5. The Accusation and Banishment of Phila. 4. The Birth, Exposure, and Finding of Valentin and Namelos.
6 Orson grows up as a wild man;	
———	(6. The Temptation.)
———	(7. The Rescue of Lyca.)
———	(8. The False Palmer.)
Bellissant and Blandimain find refuge with the giant Ferragu.	14. Giant Magros.
7–9 Guygard accuses the Archbishop of his treason, fights him, and forces him to confess.	21. . . . Punishment of the Villain . . .
10 V, grown, is loved by Pepin's daughter Esglentine; in a fight against the Saracens who have taken Rome, he is responsible for the victory of the French.	9. Valentin at Pipping's Court.
11–13 V conquers the wild man O; they become close friends.	10. Namelos the Wild Man.

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14 Hauffroy and Henry, Pepin's illegitimate sons, attack V in the chamber of Esglentine; repulsed, they complain to the King, who rebukes them.

(V's quarrel with the chamberlain, episode 9.)

15 The Green Knight, a pagan, will marry Fezonne, daughter of Duke Savary of Acquitaine, unless the Duke can find a champion to beat him.

16 Pepin vanquishes the Saracen king Lempatris. V and O set out for Acquitaine.

11. The Brothers Leave Pipping's Court.

17–19 Hauffroy and Henry set an ambush for V and O; V is imprisoned, O escapes, accuses by signs the traitor Grigar, fights and vanquishes him; V is released, and V and O continue their journey. At Acquitaine, they meet Blandimain, but do not know him.

12. The Rescue of Blandemer.

20–21 The Green Knight is overcome by O, is baptised, and directs V and O to the castle of his sister Esclarmonde.

15. The First Rescue of Rosemund.

22 Soudan Moradin besieges Constantinople; Pepin with his host attempts to relieve the city, but is shut up with the besieged.

23 V and O learn who they are from the brazen head in Esclarmonde's castle.

18. The Revelation of Identity.

24 They are imprisoned by Esclarmonde's brother Ferragu (6),

25 but are released by the enchanter Pacolet, and with their mother leave the castle, pursued by Ferragu,

19. The Second Rescue of Phila and Blandemer.

26 who besieges them in

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Acquitaine; battle; Ferragu is beaten and flees.

27 O marries Fezonne (15, 20).

28 V, on Pacolet's wooden horse, joins the besieged in Constantinople (22); battle; V and the Green Knight are prisoners,

16. The Brothers Aid Their Father against the Saracens.

29 but are released by Pacolet.

30 Ferragu, with king Trompar and Adramain the enchanter, again besieges Acquitaine. Trompar carries off Esclarmonde on the wooden horse; alighting in Inde, he is beheaded, and Esclarmonde, invited to become queen, feigns a year's vow of chastity.

17. The Abduction of Rosemund.

31 Pacolet, at Acquitaine, captures Ferragu, who is slain; battle; Saracens wiped out; O, Fezonne, Bellissant, Savary, and Pacolet go with an army to relieve Constantinople (28).

32 Battle at Constantinople; pagans annihilated; all are reunited, except Esclarmonde, who is in Inde (30).

21. Reunion . . .

33 V and Pacolet set out to seek Esclarmonde; Pepin and O return to France. Florent and Garnier, traitors, accuse O of attempting to kill Pepin;

34 he vanquishes them in judicial combat.

13. The First Rescue of Phila.

35 V and Pacolet reach Antioch; V kills a dragon,

36 and the people are converted. Queen Rozemonde is in love with V; V and Pacolet leave Antioch.

37 Brandiffer, Rozemonde's father, wars on the king of Antioch

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for forsaking his religion; the king is slain. Brandiffer captures the Emperor and the Green Knight, and imprisons them in his Chastel Fort, in keeping of his daughter Galasie.

38 Esclarmonde, the year being up (30), feigns madness. V and Pacolet reach Esclardie.

39 Trompar's son, Lucar, king of Esclardie, marries Rozemonde. V, arrested for killing a Saracen, must carry a message of defiance to the king of Inde (30).

40–41 Rozemonde gives him a private message of love to the same king. V delivers both messages, and returns.

42–43 Rozemonde deserts her second husband (39) for the king of Inde. News comes that Pepin and O (last heard of in 34) are besieging Brandiffer's city of Angorie.

44 V is chosen, with king Murgalent, to lead the pagan army to Angorie to fight Pepin and O.

45 Pacolet brings about the defeat of the pagans at Angorie.

46 V and Pacolet return to Inde with news of the disaster.

47 V learns that the Emperor and the Green Knight are imprisoned in the Chastel Fort (37); he leaves the service of the pagans, and joins the French at Angorie.

48 Pepin, O, and the twelve peers, leaving Hauffroy (14) in command at Angorie, have gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Hauffroy goes to Inde, where the pagans are now all at peace;

49 he betrays Pepin, and in return asks for the hand of Galasie (37). He is given a letter to take to her,

50 on reading which, she adds him to her collection of prisoners (37).

51 Brandiffer, Lucar, and the king of Inde, acting on Hauffroy's information, capture Pepin, O, and the twelve peers at Jerusalem. The king of Inde takes Pepin as a dwarf, Millon d'Angler having pretended to be Pepin.

52–53 Pepin, cooking incognito for the king of Inde, discovers Esclarmonde, who is still pretending to be crazy (38).

54 The twelve peers and O are added to Galasie's prisoners (37, 50).

55 The pagan kings besiege Angorie, where V is in command (47); Pacolet captures Lucar, but is killed.

56 V asks for Pepin in exchange for Lucar;

57 Millon d'Angler is accordingly (51) released.

58 Battle at Angorie; the pagans flee; the Marshal of Inde is captured,

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59 and exchanged for the real Pepin (51), who brings tidings of Esclarmonde.

60 King Artus of Bretagne has invaded France; Pepin and Millon go thither,

61 while V goes to Inde, disguises himself as a physician, and carries off Esclarmonde on the wooden horse. King Artus is overcome by Pepin, and beheaded.

22. The Second Rescue of Rosemund.

62 V by a stratagem rescues Galasie's prisoners in the Chastel Fort (the Emperor, O, the Green Knight, Hauffroy, Henry, and the twelve peers).

20. Namelos and a Second Woman.

63 Hauffroy and Henry return to France, and proceed to poison Pepin and Berte;

64 they imprison Millon, and make Charlot a kitchen-knave. But Charlot is carried off by a faithful knight, David Delloys, to Millon's castle; and Millon's wife sends for help to V and the twelve peers at Angorie. V returns to France on the wooden horse, releases Millon, and goes back with him to Angorie, which the pagans are again besieging, angered at the abduction of Esclarmonde (61).

65 The Emperor, O, and the Green Knight, who had been left to garrison the Chastel Fort (62), coming to the relief of Angorie, fight and overcome some pagans, and put on the pagans' armor.

66 Battle at Angorie;

67 V kills his father the Emperor, who was wearing Saracen armor; Lucar and Brandiffer are slain; the pagans are beaten, and flee.

68 Millon starts back to France, and will set things right there (64); the Green Knight is made king of Angorie, while V and O go to Constantinople, and rule jointly there; Galasie (37, 62) accompanies O.

69 But one day, V goes to Rome and confesses his sins to the Pope,

70 and as penance must disguise himself, return to his palace, and live there as a beggar. Fezonne dies, and O marries Galasie.

71 King Hugon of Hungary, wishing to marry Esclarmonde, gets O and the Green Knight to go with him on a pilgrimage to the Holy

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Land, where he betrays them to the pagans, takes their seals, and returns with false news that V has died, and that O recommends that Esclarmonde marry Hugon.

72 But V, after disguising himself as a pilgrim, announces that V will soon return, and the traitors flee.

73 O and the Green Knight are set free on paying a ransom; the Green Knight fights and kills Hugon; O rules Hungary.

74 V dies, leaving a letter by which he is known; Esclarmonde becomes a nun, and O, after Galasie's death, a hermit.

With the Analysis available for reference, the best method of proceeding will be to take the chapters or sections in order, expanding the Analysis where necessary, and adding the source comments.

1 Pepin married Berte, but an old woman contrived to substitute her daughter for the queen on the first night; Hauffroy and Henry were the fruit of this union. Berte was banished, but afterward was reconciled to her husband through the mediation of some of the barons and by the grace of God, and gave birth to Charles.

Alexandre, Emperor of Constantinople, marries Bellissant, Pepin's sister. — VN, episode 1.

The synopsis of the Berte story with which the romance begins has been discussed by J. Reinhold,[7] who finds that the account has some peculiarities which make it differ from every other version; these departures from tradition Reinhold believes to be original with our author, his account being based otherwise upon that of the *Chroniques de France*, which in turn rests upon Adenet's poem. There is no reason to alter these conclusions. Two things should be noted here, which will prove to be characteristic of our author: he takes pains to relate his story to the rest of the Carolingian material (we have remarked that VN is totally lacking in

[7] "Über die verschiedenen Fassungen der Bertasage," *ZRP*, XXXV (1911), 143 ff.; VO, pp. 151 ff. The relevant passages from VO and the *Chroniques de France* were reprinted by S. Feist, "Zur Kritik der Bertasage," *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, LIX (1886), 40 ff.

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this respect); and his account is different from that of anybody else, for no apparent reason.

The names Alexandre and Bellissant are Carolingian also. King Alixandre of Constantinople figures in *Doon de la Roche* (1385 ff.); the name comes no doubt eventually from *Cligès*. Bellissant is a fairly common *chanson de geste* name; it belongs to the daughter of Charlemagne in *Otinel*, *Amis et Amiles*, and *Jourdain de Blaivies*, and to minor characters in *Ogier* and *Bueve de Hantone I*.[8] In the Italian *Storie Nerbonesi*, Belisante is daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople and wife of Charlemagne, and undergoes trials taken from the *Macaire* story, as are those of our heroine; perhaps there was a common source here. Another possibility is that the name comes from the *Orson de Beauvais* story, which was certainly known to the author of VO (see remarks on ch. 71, below).

In VN, certain peculiarities in the account of the marriage were ascribed to the necessity of having the children born at Pepin's court, and the villains present there to expose them.[9] The story of VO has been altered in this respect; the children are not born at Pepin's court. Hence the villain does not appear in ch. 1 at all, and the Emperor and his bride leave France soon after their marriage. This brings the story somewhat nearer the *Berte* model — apparently the main source of these events in both VN and VO — inasmuch as we have a scene of farewell advice to the bride, similar to that in *Berte*, 138 ff.[10]

[8] All these, except *Bueve*, are from E. Langlois, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les chansons de geste imprimées*, Paris, 1904, s.v.

[9] Above, p. 31.

[10] Similar advice to a parting bride is in *Guillaume de Palerne*, 9019 ff.; and Pepin's promise to come to the aid of his brother-in-law in case of need is paralleled in the same romance, 9086 ff.; *Gui de Nanteuil*, p. 2; *Orson de Beauvais*, 1982; *Doon de la Roche*, 4591.

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2 An Archbishop, in Constantinople, makes proposals of love to the Empress, which she rejects with spirit.

3 The Archbishop tells the Emperor that Bellissant is unfaithful to him and is plotting his death. The Emperor ill-treats and upbraids her, but is persuaded not to order her to execution. Instead, she is banished, and with a faithful squire, Blandimain, sets out for France. — VN, episodes 3, 5.

As in VN, there are a false accusation and a bishop who pretends to reveal a confession of guilt.[11] But, instead of the märchen-like accusation of child-murder, we have the accusation of infidelity, much more common in romance.[12] In other words, the märchen story, already modified by romantic features in VN, is now radically altered so as to conform in most respects to a popular romantic type. Only the bishop, retained from VN, is a feature peculiar to VO in this kind of story. For the rest, as pointed out by Seelmann, [13] the source is clearly the opening portion of *Macaire*. So close is the parallelism that it will be obvious from a comparison of the texts, and need not be illustrated at length. Following *Macaire*, too, and in conformity with the new type of story, the author has dispensed with the accusing mother-in-law of VN; and he has cut out the striking scene in which the young Blandemer champions the queen's innocence. Only the dwarf of *Macaire*, who is placed in the queen's bed to lend color to the accusation, is lacking in VO; the over-credulous Emperor believes the unsupported assertions of the Archbishop.[14]

[11] Apparently not the Empress' confession, but that of her supposed lover and accomplice, whose name the Archbishop will not reveal.

[12] Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens*, pp. 86 ff.

[13] Pp. liv ff.

[14] A point not in *Macaire* — the queen pleads for mercy because of her unborn child — is in *Parise la Duchesse*, p. 19, and *Enfances Garin*, 5a 1 ff.; in *Macaire*, the plea is offered by another (657 ff.).

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4 The Archbishop, attired as a knight, follows the two exiles. He overtakes them as they rest by a fountain, and renews his proposals, which are again rejected. The Archbishop and Blandimain fight, but are interrupted by Guygard,[15] a passing merchant, and the Archbishop flees, discomfited at having been recognized. Bellissant and Blandimain continue their journey, and reach France.

Up to the point of the intervention of Guygard, the source is still *Macaire*,[16] and now *Macaire* alone, for VN lacks the episode. But in *Macaire*, the duel results in the death of the queen's companion, Aubri, and the queen escapes by flight; the witness of the combat, who afterward avenges Aubri, is the latter's dog, the famous "chien de Montargis." In our story, on the other hand, Blandimain must be kept alive, for the Empress has still a long journey to make. Hence the introduction of a human character to stop the fighting, in place of the dog of *Macaire*, which remains a passive spectator. Guygard later (chs. 7–9) serves the same purpose in the story as does Aubri's dog in *Macaire*, by bringing the truth to light; while the dog episode is reworked and introduced at another point (chs. 17–19). On Guygard, see further the remarks on chs. 7–9, below.

5 Bellissant gives birth to twin sons in the forest of Orleans, Blandimain having left her to seek help. A she-bear carries off one of the children; Bellissant pursues until exhausted; meanwhile the second child, left alone, is found by Pepin, who is passing through the forest on his way to Constantinople; the child is entrusted to a squire named Valentin to be cared for, and the squire gives him his own name. Blandimain then meets Pepin in the forest, and relates what has occurred in Constantinople; Pepin denounces his sister, and returns home, without waiting to hear the remainder of the story. Blandimain searches for and rejoins Bellissant. — VN, episode 4.

[15] The name is not given until ch. 32.

[16] Seelmann, *l. c.*

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No more strikingly dramatic use was ever made of the familiar Stealing Beast episode than in this chapter of our story. The introduction of king Pepin upon the scene gives rise to breathless alternations of fortune, which are all to the credit of the unknown romancer.[17] Only the essentials of the situation are provided by VN: the separation of the children, the stealing of one by a wild beast, and the finding of the other by a member of Pepin's household. Four new elements are taken from older romantic material; while the combination of these elements, and the remaining incidents, seem to be original. The four new elements are:

(1) The birth of children in exile, followed by their separation from their mother, or from both parents. — Fifteen romantic variants of the separation incident are tabulated by Boje, *Beuve de Hamtone*, pp. 123 ff., to which the reader may refer for details. Eliminating those variants in which the children are born before the exile begins, there are ten parallels to VO.[18] Certain details in VO are shown by Boje's tabulation to be fairly common. Thus, in five instances, male twins are born; in five, the event takes place in a forest; in seven, the mother is said to be overtaken by the pains of childbirth so that she cannot continue her journey; in four, she cries out in pain.[19]

Seeking for more special peculiarities, we note that it is only in *Parise la Duchesse* that the lady of this episode is unaccompanied by her husband; but this is not significant, for Blandimain performs the functions of the male companion.

[17] A portion of the text of this chapter is reproduced in Appendix I.

[18] *Bueve de Hantone; Guillaume d'Angleterre; Lion de Bourges; Ciperis de Vignevaux; Maugis d'Aigremont; Parise la Duchesse; Aiol; De Ortu Waluanii; Auberon; Waldef*(?). To the larger list may be added prose *Lancelot* (I, 12 ff.), *Lanzelet* (Analysis, pp. 171 ff.), and *Floriant et Florete* (480 ff.).

[19] For some of these traits, I add *Lion de Bourges* to Boje's lists.

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These are, in some versions, to lend assistance in person, but in others, to leave the lady alone, because no man should be present at such a time.[20] The peculiarity in VO (which Boje does not note) is that Blandimain leaves his lady alone, not from motives of delicacy as elsewhere, but in order to seek for her some womanly assistance, at her request. This idea occurs elsewhere only in *Lion de Bourges:*

Duke Herpin and his wife are exiled; she is overtaken by labor-pains in a forest; *he leaves her, at her request, in order to seek female assistance;* a son is born; robbers kidnap the duchess; a lioness carries away and suckles the abandoned child.[21]

Since *Lion* is the older romance of the two,[22] this trait was probably borrowed thence by VO.

(2) The circumstances of the loss of the children. — The larger group of eighteen variants serves for comparison here. Much the closest parallel is in *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, which accordingly may be regarded as a probable source of VO:

King William, left alone with his newly-born twin sons, places one in a boat; returning for the other, he sees a wolf carrying it off; *he pursues the wolf until exhausted. Meanwhile certain merchants* (who have already rescued the child from the wolf) *find and carry off the other child left in the boat.*[23]

[20] This idea seems to be referred to in VN: 141 *Bi er ne moste nement wesen, Do se der kindere scolde nesen*, cf. 203. Seelmann (p. 121) refers to *Aesopus moralisatus* (meaning apparently Marie de France's *Fables*), no. 21; this is the 19th fable of Phaedrus, *Scrofa parturiens et lupus*, which as told in *Romulus Nilantius* and *Romulus Anglicus*, as well as in Marie, contains a statement of the present idea (L. Hervieux, *Les fabulistes latins*, Paris, 1894, II, 528, 580, 768). See also F. Fellinger, *Schwangerschaft und Geburt in der af. Lit.*, Göttingen, 1907, p. 56; Child's notes to *Leesome Brand* (*Eng. and Scot. Pop. Ballads*, I, 179 ff.); Kölbing, *Beues of Hamtoun*, p. 335; and Boje, *l. c.*

[21] Simrock, pp. 221 ff.; Krickmeyer, p. 8.

[22] Wilhelmi, *Studien*, p. 15, dates the A version of *Lion* in the fourteenth century.

[23] 771 ff.

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(3) The finding of the deserted child by the king. — Foundlings of course must be found by someone; but this part is usually played by humble characters — shepherds, fishermen, merchants, and the like. More exalted persons sometimes come upon the foundling hero in the wild beast's den, as in *Lion de Bourges*. The finding by the king's daughter at the river's bank in VN is, as we have seen, quite unique, and presumably from the story of Moses. The present situation — the finding of a totally abandoned child by a king in person — is perhaps ultimately from *Roman de Thèbes*, 132 ff., but the closest parallel is the Jaseran episode in *Belle Hélène:*

> The senator's villainous cousin takes the child Jaseran from Rome to a forest near Chartres to be killed. But he himself is killed by robbers, and the child is left alone, to be found by *King Clovis, who is passing through the forest with a hundred knights on his way to Rome.*[24]

Belle Hélène thus appears also to be a VO source.

(4) The bear, which replaces the wolf of VN; together with the name Orson, which replaces Namelos (*Sansnom in the French *VS?). — Children stolen or suckled by beasts are frequently named after the beasts; Lion of *Lion de Bourges* and of *Belle Hélène*, and Lovel ("wolf-cub") of *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, are examples from romances already mentioned here as sources.[25] It is thus in accord with precedent that our hero, stolen by a bear, should be called Orson, "bear."[26]

But why a bear? The wolf of VN is in the Eustace tradition; in the Eustace legend itself, and in many other versions of the Stealing Beast episode, the animals are lion

[24] Analysis, pp. 92 ff.

[25] Others are collected by Monteverdi, in *Studi Medievali*, III (1909), 477 n.; the list might be greatly extended from popular story.

[26] Cf. G. Paris, *Orson de Beauvais*, p. lxix n.

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and wolf. The bear occurs only twice, and both times in the combination "lion-bear,"[27] which is due no doubt to a Biblical reminiscence (*veniebat leo vel ursus, et tollebat arietem, I Reg.*, XVII, 34). No such explanation will hold for VO, since there is no lion.

The true explanation seems to me to be this. Our author was familiar with the other Orson of *chanson de geste* fame, Orson of Beauvais; for he incorporated most of the latter's adventures into those of his own Orson, in chs. 71 ff. of our romance.[28] Evidently, then, he was struck here by a happy thought. The story called for a wild beast to carry off and suckle the hero. Let the hero be called Orson, a good traditional name, and let the beast be, appropriately, a bear. Perhaps the idea of using the *Orson de Beauvais* material was already in his mind, and helped to suggest the name; or perhaps the name, once thought of, suggested the later use of the material. At any rate, it seems clear that the name Orson was suggested by *Orson de Beauvais*, and that it in turn suggested the change from wolf to bear.[29]

[27] English *Gesta Romanorum*, and Vincent de Beauvais (P. Ogden, *A Comparative Study of the Poem "Guillaume d'Angleterre,"* Baltimore, 1900, table facing p. 6).

[28] *Bonus dormitat Homerus.* G. Paris said (*o. c.*, p. iii) that *Orson de Beauvais* had "nothing to do" with VO; he meant merely that the two stories were not the same.

[29] It was thought by Seelmann (pp. liii ff.) that the comte de Tressan's story *Dom Ursino le Navarin* (*Bibl. universelle des romans*, 1779, jan., II, 47 ff., fév., pp. 3 ff.; Tressan, *Corps d'extraits*, Paris, 1782, III, 1 ff.; *Oeuvres choisies*, Evreux, 1796, IX, 1 ff.; *Les romans illustrés*, Paris, n. d., II, no. 9), which Tressan asserted he had found in an old French book in the Vatican library, might represent a possible source for the bear and the name Orson. But Tressan's admission that the story was entirely his own invention has since come to light (H. Jacoubet, *Le comte de Tressan et les origines du genre troubadour*, Paris, 1923, p. 252, n. 73). *Dom Ursino* is in fact based in part upon

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The probable sources, then, of this remarkable chapter are *Lion de Bourges*, *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, *Belle Hélène*, and *Orson de Beauvais*, in addition to VN. Here as elsewhere, our romance presents a new, and in this case an extremely effective, combination of old materials.

6 The bear carried the child to her den, to be eaten by her four cubs. But God showed a miracle; the cubs did the child no harm, and the mother-bear suckled it for a year. It grew up as a wild man in the forest, and was called Orson. Meanwhile, Bellissant and Blandimain travel on, finally reaching Portugal, where they are hospitably entertained for many years by the giant Ferragu (who is so large that no horse can carry him) and his wife. — VN, episodes 4, 10, 14.

The source is VN. Perhaps all the details about Orson are from the lost French, even those that do not appear in the extant texts — such as the four cubs, the remark that God showed a miracle, the suckling for a year, and the remark that Orson was rough like a bear because he drank the bear's milk. If not, they are partly invented and partly from the tradition of such stories.[30] Other details are at least suggested in the VN text, as the statement that Orson ate raw flesh, and was hunted (VN, episode 10).

The uneventful stay of Bellissant and Blandimain at the castle of Ferragu takes the place of the series of ad-

VO and in part upon *Amadis* and other romances, as Jacoubet shows. I need hardly add that I see no connection between the bear in VO and the "grisly bears" which are believed to stand in a special relation to twins among the Thompson and Lillooet Indians (J. Rendel Harris, *Contemp. Review*, CXXVI, 1924, p. 330).

[30] There are four wolf-cubs in *Wolfdietrich*, B 151 ff. On the kindness of wild beasts as due to the mercy of God, cf. Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, I, 236; Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun*, p. 193. The milk of the *sirène* has extraordinary effects, in *Tristan de Nanteuil*, Analysis, p. 8; cf. Huth *Merlin*, I, xxi.

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ventures which in VN occupies the unfortunate queen while her children are growing up: episodes 6, 7, 8, 13, and 14, which we have discussed in Chapter III. Ferragu, the courteous giant, replaces Madageer-Magros, the wicked giant of episode 14; and the quaint custom of "sitting in the water" has disappeared. Here is a notable example of the general softening of manners and elimination of absurdities which mark VO as compared with its predecessor.

Giants named Ferragu or Fernagu [31] are familiar in the *chansons*,[32] and the statement that the giant was so large that no horse could carry him is also a commonplace.[33]

7 At Constantinople, a fair is held. The merchant Guygard (4) refuses the tribute imposed by the Archbishop. On being arrested, he reveals to the Emperor the treason of the Archbishop, and challenges the latter to a judicial combat.

8 King Pepin is sent for, to witness the combat. He arrives, and reproaches the Emperor for his hasty action.

[31] On the two forms, cf. G. Paris in *Romania*, XXVI (1897), p. 116 n.

[32] Langlois, *Table*, s. v.

[33] Ferragù can find only one horse able to carry him, *Viaggio di Carlo Magno*, I, 29, 60; and in *Octavian*, 1949, no horse can carry the nameless giant who in *Florent et Octavian* (Anal., pp. 303 ff.) is called Fernagu. The trait would seem to be Germanic, appearing only late in the French and Italian romances; *Gui de Warwick*, G 78 r (Tanner, p. 62) is the only other French example I have found to be added to those collected by Wohlgemuth, *Riesen u. Zwerge*, p. 15 (*Aliscans*, *Gaufrey*, *Chevalier du Papegau*) and F. Schmidt, *Das Reiten u. Fahren in der af. Lit.*, Göttingen, 1914, p. 15 (*Mort Aimeri*). The rest are Germanic: *Liber Monstrorum*, I, 3 (M. Haupt, *Opuscula*, II, Lipsiae, 1876, p. 223, cf. R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf, An Introduction*, Cambridge, 1921, p. 4); *Rother*, 654; *Eckenlied*, sts. 34, 45; *Guy of Warwick*, Auch. st. 255, Camb. 10220; alliterative *Morte Arthure*, 615; *Generides B*, 2155; *Torrent of Portyngale*, 1269; Malory, *Morte Darthur*, IV, 26. According to G. Paris (*Romania*, XIII, 1884, p. 606 n. 1), the trait is found in the Scandinavian epic, and Hrolf Ganga owed his name to the same circumstance.

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9 Guygard vanquishes the Archbishop, who confesses his treason, and is boiled in oil. Pepin pardons the sorrowing Emperor, and returns home, while messengers are sent everywhere to seek Bellissant. — VN, episode 21.

The episode has only a slight parallel in VN, in the trial and judgment of the traitor Frankhart near the end of the story; VN also has a judicial combat in episode 13, but VO uses this later (chs. 33–34). Our episode comes instead from *Macaire*, Guygard taking the place of the "dog of Montargis" which in *Macaire* vanquishes the traitor and brings the truth to light soon after the queen's banishment (cf. remarks on ch. 2).[34]

Such a substitution is not inappropriate. Merchants are in fact met with in the romances as spreaders of news,[35] and this is essentially Guygard's function here. But that the merchant, having brought his news, fights a combat to prove it true, is a trait that could have been invented only after chivalric tradition had ceased to embody a living reality. The only parallel that I have is *Theseus de Cologne*, another late romance, in which a judicial combat is fought by a goldsmith, in circumstances somewhat like the present.[36]

Just as the merchant in romance is a spreader of news, so one would expect to find that the fair is a place where misunderstandings are cleared up. This is so in Boccaccio's version of the Cymbeline story (*Decameron*, II, 9) and the

[34] The same episode from *Macaire* is adapted later, in chs. 17–19 (see p. 185).

[35] *Girart de Roussillon*, p. 239; *Doon de Maience*, p. 229; *Cléomadès*, 12373; *Erl of Tolous*, 937; *Canterbury Tales*, B 176 ff. On the other hand, the author of *Gilles de Trasignies* says that merchants are not reliable bearers of news concerning knights, being interested only in merchandise (p. 107).

[36] Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance and Accused Queens*, p. 103.

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related tales,[37] the protagonists being merchants; but I have found no other examples.

In the combat, the stratagem by which the Archbishop gains a temporary advantage by pretending to yield is in *Roman de Thèbes*, 9613 ff.; *Orson de Beauvais*, 3650 ff.; and *Roman de la Violette*, 6500 ff.[38] Of these, *Orson* is most like VO. When the merchant, later in the same combat, employs the same stratagem against the Archbishop with equal success, we have one of the several places in which our author sacrifices plausibility for the sake of prolonging his narrative.

The imposition of burdensome taxes is, curiously, a procedure of the traitor Macaire in *Tristan de Nanteuil*.[39] Since Macaire of the *chanson Macaire* is the model for the Archbishop, perhaps this trait of the Macaire of *Tristan* goes back to some lost tradition of Macaire's doings, or perhaps VO takes a hint from *Tristan*.

Pepin quotes a proverb to the Emperor (ch. 8): *on dit communement que trop tard est de fermer lestable quant le cheual est perdu*. Examples of the proverb are gathered in the note.[40]

[37] Collected by G. Paris, "Le cycle de la Gageure," *Romania*, XXXII (1903), 481 ff.

[38] It was probably borrowed by *Violette* from *Thèbes*, thinks G. Otto (*Der Einfluss des R. de T. auf die af. Lit.*, Göttingen, 1909, p. 96); he does not mention *Orson* or VO.

[39] Guessard, *Macaire*, p. xviii. Similar accounts of burdensome taxes imposed by usurpers are in *Lion de Bourges* (Simrock, p. 377, Zeddies, p. 7); *Bauduin de Sebourc*, VII, 314 ff.; and *Enfances Garin* (Rudolph, p. 64 n.3).

[40] *Proverbes au vilain* (J. Morawski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XVe siècle*, Paris, 1925, no. 151); *Proverbia rusticorum*, Leyden (*ibid.*, no. 149); *Lion de Bourges*, Krickmeyer, p. 63 and note; Gerbert, *Perceval*, 1662; *Galeran*, 1452; *Rigomer*, 7978; *Gilles de Trasignies*, p. 103; cf. *Zeitschr. des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XXXIII–XXXIV (1924), 129.

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10 Valentin, now twelve years old, is presented by his foster-father (5) to King Pepin, who makes him his cupbearer. He increases in favor at court, and loves and is loved by the king's daughter, Esglentine.

A messenger from the Pope calls for Pepin's help against the Saracens, who have taken Rome. Valentin is made leader of the host. Esglentine declares her love; he tells her he is but a foundling. A fruitless expedition is made against Orson, the king barely escaping with his life.

At Rome, Valentin offers to carry a message of defiance to the Amiral. He tells the latter that, being condemned to death, he has agreed to challenge the Amiral to single combat; his challenge is good-naturedly accepted. Meanwhile Valentin, through a priest to whom he pretends to confess, sends word of his plans to the Christians within and without the city. The combat takes place outside the walls, and the Amiral is slain. The Romans close the gates, man the walls, and attack; Pepin attacks from the other side; the pagans are annihilated, Valentin being the hero of the battle; and Pepin is crowned Emperor by the Pope, Clement IV. — VN, episodes 9, 10.

The chapter follows episode 9 of VN (only the first expedition against Orson being from episode 10), with considerable variation in detail, especially in the second half. The events in France, which form the first half, follow VN fairly closely. They are, however, nearer than is VN to the normal tradition of the Stay at a Foreign Court episode, and therefore to the continental *Bueve;* while the special similarities noted in VN to the Italian *Bovo* and the English *Beues* are lacking. Thus, Esglentine does not declare her love until Valentin is about to go into battle; his refusal of her proffered love is more courtly, and more in line with the similar episodes in *Bueve*, *Horn*, and the rest (cf. Boje, p. 75); the brutal episode of the killing of the chamberlain, with the resulting imprisonment and pardon, is omitted here (but reworked a little later, ch. 14); missing also are Pepin's preliminary unsuccessful expedition, and the gathering of reënforcements by his daughter. The opening scene,

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in which the young Valentin is presented to the king by his guardian at a feast, is new, and seems to be from the Horn story (*Horn et Rimenhild*, p. 18); like Horn, Valentin is put in charge of the *veissele*. The name Esglentine, usually in the form Aiglentine, is noted five times by Langlois (*Table*, s. v.); spelled as in VO, it is found in a fifteenth-century version of *Renaut de Montauban*,[41] which also contains the Eastern adventures of Renaut to which reference is made in VO, ch. 43.

Turning to the second half of the chapter, the events at Rome, we find a free reworking of the VN material, based on hints from various *chansons*. Instead of the king of Spain, it is the Pope who is rescued from the Saracens. This is a more frequent situation (*Chevalerie Ogier*, *Enfances Ogier*, *Mainet*, *Destruction de Rome*, *Aspremont*, *Couronnement Looys*). The scene in which Valentin alone volunteers to carry the message of defiance to the Amiral is perhaps from *Guy of Warwick* (Auch. 3727 ff.).[42] His greeting of the Amiral — in the form "God save King Pepin and Mahomet save you" — is paralleled in *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 7524 ff., and *Aquin*, 280 ff.[43] A single combat outside the walls of Rome, followed by a Saracen defeat, is the subject of episodes in *Chevalerie Ogier*, *Enfances Ogier*, and *Couronnement Looys*. Valentin's stratagem — the arrangement of a simultaneous attack — was perhaps suggested by VN; at least the confused account there seems to involve an attack from two sides at once (803 ff.); the stratagem is similar to one in

[41] Castets, *Renaut de Montauban*, p. 222.

[42] Other parallels in B. Haase, *Über die Gesandten in den af. ch. de g.*, Halle, 1891, p. 12; Boje, *o. c.*, p. 79.

[43] Apropos of this situation, the author quotes another proverb: *on deschausse souuent le soulier dont on vouldroit auoir coupe le pie;* the *Proverbes au vilain* have, *Tel piet baise on c'om vorroit qu'i*[*l*] *fust coppez* (Morawski, no. 2322).

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Floriant et Florete, 7375 ff. Doubtless these parallels could be extended. Only Valentin's absurd device for persuading the Amiral to joust with him seems to be an original invention

Why Pope Clement IV? I do not know. The actual Clement IV reigned from 1265 to 1268. I suspect that the numeral is merely a random bit of verisimilitude; for Pope Clement, without a numeral, is in *Guillaume de Palerne* (9355), *Belle Hélène* (Anal., p. 101), *Lion de Bourges* (Zeddies, p. 33), and *Prophecies de Merlin* (Index, s. v.); while Pope St. Clement figures in the Southern ME. *Octavian* (61, 103), and is mentioned in *Loher und Maller* (Anal., p. 20).

11 All return to Orleans. Esglentine sends for Valentin; Hauffroy and Henry (1) find them together, and upbraid Valentin, who promises not to visit the lady again. The wild man is complained of; Hauffroy, accusing Valentin of attempting to seduce Esglentine, suggests that he be sent to fight the wild man. Pepin refuses to lend ear to the accusation, and tries to dissuade Valentin from going; but the latter is determined, and departs. — VN, episodes 9, 10.

The interview of Esglentine and Valentin in the lady's room is from VN. But the part played by Hauffroy and Henry (who are of course the Rainfroi, or Hainfroi, and Heudri, of *Berte*, *Mainet*, etc.) is lacking in VN, though a common one in the Stay at a Foreign Court episode. In *Bueve de Hantone*, *Mainet*, *Generides*, *Parise*, *Horn*, *Amis et Amiles*, *Guy of Warwick*, and *Florent et Octavian*, the episode involves an accusation against the hero, and usually of this same kind.[44] In *Mainet*, the lady's brother is the moving spirit; in *Floovant*, the heroine's two brothers hate the hero. But most like VO are *Bueve* and *Guy*, for only here is the hero, as a result of the slander, sent on a dangerous mission.[45] In *Guy*, as in VO, the lady's father refuses to

[44] Boje, *o. c.*, p. 76.

[45] *Boeve*, 775 ff., etc.; *Guy*, Auch. 3161 ff., 3727 ff. The trait is also in *Florent et Octavian*, which follows *Bueve* closely.

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entertain the accusation, and the dangerous mission then is not forced on the hero as a punishment, but is undertaken voluntarily; while in *Bueve*, the accusation is believed, and the hero is given a "Uriah-letter." It seems likely, therefore, that *Floovant* and *Guy* have suggested the present episode.

12 Valentin fights the wild man Orson, finally subduing him by gentle words and the "force of nature." — VN, episode 10.

The source is VN. One passage, as noted by Seelmann, has verbal similarities: that in which the "force of nature" leads the wild man to kneel with clasped hands before his brother.[46] Many of the lively details of the combat are no doubt original. But when Orson uproots a tree to use it as a weapon, he is conforming to the Wild Man type.[47] Valentin's prayer, with its mention of Daniel in the lions' den, is an epic commonplace.[48] His speech to Orson, setting forth the advantages of civilized life, is paralleled in *Tristan de Nanteuil* (Anal., p. 32), where Tristan expounds the Christian faith to his wild half-brother Doon on their first meeting. But it is impossible to say whether there is any direct connection between *Tristan* and VO.

13 V and O pass the night at a village, the inhabitants fleeing in terror of the wild man. Lively account of the return to Orleans; fear, then joy, of the people; discomfiture of Hauffroy and Henry. O is baptized. — VN, *ibid.*

The bare narrative of VN is here amplified with details suggested by *Bueve de Hantone* and *Aliscans*. In *Bueve III*, 4500 ff., the giant Achopart, newly vanquished by the hero, is the cause of similar terror among the inhabitants of Cologne;

[46] Seelmann, note to l. 1133.

[47] Cf. p. 114.

[48] *Roland*, str. 203; *Aliscans*, 7108 ff; *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 3727 ff.; *Bueve de Hantone II*, 664, *III*, 2902; *Guy of Warwick*, Auch. st. 252.

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this episode is also followed by a baptism. The *vilain* Rainouart in *Aliscans* is the model for the other details,[49] such as the scene in which Orson drinks heavily from a *pot* and then falls to the floor in a drunken stupor (*Aliscans*, 3499 ff., 4302 ff., MS. a, 3682 ff.). The fear inspired by Orson at first sight, his bestial manner of eating and drinking, and the treatment of his conduct, by the author and the other characters, as a huge joke, are all traits which Orson has in common with the *vilain* of the *chansons de geste*.[50]

14 Esglentine sends for V and O. Hauffroy and Henry attack V in their sister's room; O comes to his rescue; V ends the mêlée by quieting O. Hauffroy and Henry complain to Pepin that O has attacked them, but V explains what really happened, and the king rebukes the traitors.

O snatches two capons in the kitchen; the cook strikes him with a pestle; O severely injures the cook. Called to account, he explains the occurrence by signs, and is forgiven. V teaches him proper behavior. — VN, episode 9.

The attack by Hauffroy and Henry is suggested by the scene in VN (episode 9) in which the chamberlain objects to Clarina's kissing the foundling, and is slain by Valentin. Kitchen adventures are frequent with Rainouart in *Aliscans*; he kills cooks, and is forgiven, 3785 ff., 4364 ff., MS. a, 3621 ff. Our author has softened both episodes by eliminating the murders, in accordance with the taste of a more refined age.

15 Duke Savary of Acquitaine sends for help. He is besieged by a pagan, the Green Knight (*le verd chevalier*), who wishes to marry his daughter Fezonne. The Green Knight is brother of the giant Ferragu (6), and is destined never to be vanquished except by a king's son who has never been suckled by a woman.

[49] Cf. pp. 125 ff.

[50] Hünerhoff, *Über die komischen "vilain"-Figuren*, pp. 6, 8, 24, 39; Runeberg, *Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart*, pp. 137, 141.

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Pepin decides to help Savary. But a new messenger reports that a hundred thousand pagans are attacking the city of Lyon, and Millon d'Angler advises that this be attended to first. It is so agreed.

The Duke makes a sally, and is captured. He is released on condition that within six months he shall find a champion to vanquish the Green Knight; otherwise, the latter is to marry Fezonne. Messengers are sent to twelve Christian realms, offering the hand of Fezonne to the successful champion. — VN, episode 15.

The Green Knight's destiny — to be conquered only by a person answering Orson's description — and the definite period of grace allowed the lady, are from VN. Otherwise, the episode is considerably altered. In VN, we had merely a chance rescue of a damsel from a giant. Here the giant (though a pagan still, and with a giant brother) has become in other respects a conventional knight, or rather military leader, who, after a siege and a battle, challenges the world in general to single combat, with the maiden as the prize, according to a favorite Arthurian formula. The other details are from *Vœux du Paon* and *Garin de Monglane*, version N:

Vœux du Paon. — At the opening of the poem, Cassamus relates to Alexandre that Clarvus li Yndois is attempting to dispossess the heirs of Gadifer (Cassamus' brother), namely young Gadifer and Betis, *and to marry their sister Fezonie against her will.* Alexandre promises and brings help.

The similarity of the situation suggested the use of the name Fezonne,[51] in place of the Rosemund of VN.

Garin de Monglane, version N. — Duke Savary of Acquitaine is known to us only from this source,[52] and the names of Savary's

[51] *Fezonie* in the printed text of *Vœux du Paon*, but *Fezonne* according to Paul Meyer (*Bulletin de la Soc. des Anc. Textes*, 1882, p. 55; cf. Wallensköld, *Florence de Rome*, Appendix, l. 31).

[52] Elsewhere he is called Aymer, or Florimond (*Garin de Monglane*, Rudolph, pp. 16, 57; Schuppe, p. 7).

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sons seem also to be confusedly copied from version N, rather than from the earlier (LPR) version. The sons are:

LPR: Garin, eldest; Gerin, second; Antiaume, youngest.
N: Gerin and Authiaume, twins; Garin, youngest.[53]
VO: *Garin Anseaulme et Gerin le plus ieune.*

Other borrowings from version N of *Garin* will be noted in the remarks on chs. 50 and 67; these three passages are, I think, the first references to this version that have been pointed out. Here again, as in the Berte story in ch. 1, and elsewhere, our author uses older material with arbitrary additions and alterations of his own: Savary's daughter Fezonne, and all that is told of Savary and his family in VO, are doubtless additions of this nature.

The attack upon Lyons is best considered in connection with its sequel in the next chapter; but the scene in which Pepin deliberates whether to help Savary or fight the invading Germans recalls one in *Les Narbonnais*, especially the DE version, where Charlemagne, considering a similar problem, decides that he himself will fight the invading Saxons, but sends an army also to the relief of Narbonne.[54]

16 Pepin with his host proceeds toward Lyon, and puts to flight the invader Lempatris, king of Saines, Hollande, and Frise. Lempatris retreats to a city in the land of Monemarche, where Pepin starves him into surrender. His people are baptised, and the city is given to Guy, Marshal of France.

Pepin returns to Paris, whither the news of Duke Savary's offer (15) is brought. V resolves to undertake the adventure; Pepin and Esglentine endeavor in vain to dissuade him; he bids them farewell, and departs, with O. — VN, episode 11.

Pepin's war with Lempatris is one of the few passages in VO which present Pepin in circumstances having no connection with the two heroes of the story. Such passages can usually be identified as versions of familiar stories about

[53] Rudolph, p. 16; Schuppe, p. 110. [54] *Les Narbonnais*, II, 37.

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Pepin or Charlemagne. But there are two interesting exceptions, of which this is one.[55] No siege or battle at Lyons is recorded in any *chanson de geste* that I have found; Monemarche is nowhere mentioned (it is probably a misprint for Danemarche); Lempatris is an occasional name for a pagan in the *chansons*, but nowhere in this exact form,[56] or in this connection; and there is nowhere any Guy, Marshal of France. Is the episode a mere extravagance on the part of our author, or is he borrowing from some *chanson* that has perished? There was a *chanson*, we know, on the subject of Charlemagne's war with the Frisians;[57] and that the tradition was transferred from Charlemagne to Pepin is evidenced by the version of the Doon de Maience story given by Jean d'Outremeuse (*Myreur*, II, 466 ff.); here Pepin fights Ralmon de Frise, who is aided by the King of Dannemarche and the Duke of Saxongne. It may be that VO preserves a trace of the same tradition, although there is no similarity in the details, and the author, as we have seen, had no scruples about adding new adventures to traditional names.[58]

The main subject of the chapter is the departure of Valentin and Orson from Pepin's court. In VN (episode 11), it appeared that Valentin decided to leave court and seek his parents because he had discovered that Namelos had a birthmark similar to his own. In VO, he mentions only his own birthmark, and says that he is eager to learn of

[55] The other is the war with Artus, chs. 60–61.

[56] It appears as Aupatri, l'Aupatri, Ampatris, Lampatris or l'Ampatris, etc. (*Aliscans*, MSS. mLb, 222; *Narbonnais*, 5899, etc.; *Huon et Calisse*, v. Langlois, *Table*, s. v. Ampatris; *Lion de Bourges*, Krickmeyer, p. 16; *Béatrix*, II, 172 ff.).

[57] G. Paris, *Histoire poétique*, p. 293.

[58] In the course of the same war, according to the *Myreur*, Pepin is made a prisoner, as later in VO (ch. 51).

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his birth. But the immediate reason for his departure is the offer of Duke Savary, which of course is not in VN. The idea was suggested perhaps in this way. Orson, as we have seen, is modeled after Rainouart, in this portion of his story. Now, Rainouart's martial adventures begin when he leaves the French court in company with Guillaume in order to fight the Saracens in the south of France (*Aliscans*, 3302 ff.; *Willame*, 2650 ff.), and the expedition (at least in *Aliscans*) results in his finding a wife. Since the first adventure of Valentin and Namelos, after leaving court, is that which provides a wife for Namelos, it was a natural idea to motivate the departure from court in the same way as in *Aliscans*. In other words, Orson leaves the French court to fight the Saracens and find a wife, because Rainouart had begun his career by doing likewise. Valentin, like Guillaume in *Aliscans*, is the actual leader of the enterprise.

Valentin's farewell scene with Esglentine is much more developed than in VN, and here, in addition to the commonplaces of the Stay at a Foreign Court episode, there are some parallels in detail with *Bueve de Hantone*, *Horn*, and *Guy of Warwick*. Thus, the lady offers the hero money (*Horn et Rimenhild*, 1182, 2485; *Bueve I*, 2125); and he reminds her that their marriage would be the subject of criticism (*Horn*, 1219; *Guy*, p. 254). Here, as in ch. 10, we note that the Stay at a Foreign Court episode in VO is closer than VN to the normal tradition, and in particular that *Bueve* and *Guy* have served as models. The wound-healing drink of VN is missing here, being replaced by the wound-healing balm of ch. 19.

Esglentine, from the beginning an apocryphal person, disappears from the story at this point. In ch. 64, indeed, there is an unnamed sister of Charlot who is the wife of Millon d'Angler, but she is borrowed from the *Enfances*

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Roland story, and the author does not trouble to identify her with the Esglentine of the earlier chapters.

17 The traitors, Hauffroy and Henry, send their cousin Grigar with thirty men to waylay V and O in a forest. After a fight, V is taken and led to a castle, O escaping. Grigar returns to Paris to seek further instructions. O, also returning, attacks Grigar before the court at dinner, and by signs defies him to judicial combat. The combat is ordained,

18 and takes place; O vanquishes Grigar,

19 who confesses, and is hanged. Pepin, led by O, proceeds to the castle where V is a prisoner, takes it by assault, and releases V.

This episode serves no purpose in the story. As remarked by Seelmann,[59] the source is *Macaire* (836–1259):

(Queen Blanchefleur, on leaving court, is pursued by the traitor Macaire, who kills her companion Aubri; cf. VO, ch. 4.) Aubri's dog returns to court at dinner-time, attacks Macaire, and leads the court to his master's body. A combat is ordained between Macaire and the dog; the former is vanquished, confesses, and is put to death.

Our romancer has already used the opening scenes of the *Macaire* story, in chs. 2–4. Rather ingeniously, he devises this new episode in order to introduce the striking scenes of the accusation and combat. Orson, the dumb Wild Man, replaces the dog.

The ambush is an episode frequent in the *chansons;* this one, in its attendant circumstances, is perhaps most like that in *Gui de Nanteuil,* p. 21.

19 (continued): V and O resume their journey, and reach Acquitaine. A weeping squire relates that the Green Knight has hanged the squire's master and thirty-one other conquered knights on a tree, and counsels against the adventure; so does an aged man. Blandimain is met with, as a pilgrim of fourscore years;

[59] P. lv.

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he is bearing a message to Pepin, to the effect that the giant Ferragu (6) wishes to fight the Emperor of Greece in defense of Bellissant; he has been unable to enter Constantinople, because the pagans are besieging it; he declines to accompany the brothers. V feels the "force of nature," though he does not know the reason. — VN, episode 12.

V is attacked by the Orgueilleux Chevalier, a cousin of Savary, who attacks all who fail to salute him; V kills him. Brought before Savary, he justifies the deed, and is pardoned. O and Fezonne fall in love.

The Green Knight enters, taunts the assembled champions sitting at table, and is severely dealt with by O; he vows revenge on the morrow. Next day, two champions having been slain, V rides out to encounter the Green Knight. The latter sends him to fetch a shield from a tree; V cannot move it. The Green Knight then reveals that only he who shall conquer him can fetch the shield; he also reveals his own destiny (15), and advises V to return. Furthermore, the Green Knight has the balm of Our Lord Jesus Christ, which heals all wounds. On V's refusal to return, the combat is engaged, and lasts until nightfall without any decisive result, when it is adjourned to the following day. — VN, episode 15.

The meeting with Blandimain is a far-off echo of the Rescue of Blandemer (VN, episode 12); both meetings have the reference to the "force of nature" which is felt by V on hearing of his mother's sorrows. For the rest, this long chapter introduces us into an Arthurian rather than a Carolingian milieu. Most of the incidents are Arthurian commonplaces: the hanging of conquered knights on a tree; the aged man who explains what is going on; the Proud Knight; the shield which is to be taken only by the destined hero.[60] A wound-healing balm connected with the burial of Christ appears in *Chevalier à la Charrette*, 3371 ff.;

[60] Bodies of conquered knights hung on trees: Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, VII, 15. Aged man: Thomas, *Tristan*, 3056 ff.; Gerbert, *Perceval*, 2006; *Queste del saint Graal*, p. 47. Orgueilleux Chevalier: Orgueilleux de la Lande, Chrétien, *Perceval*, 4991 ff., *Biaus Descouneüs*. Shield: Gerbert, *Perceval*, 8466 ff.; *Arthur of Little Britain*, ch. 46.

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Gerbert, *Perceval*, 3161 ff., 5630 ff. (Potvin, VI, 185); *Mort Aimeri*, p. 86; and *Jourdain de Blaivies*, 2293 ff.; it is possessed by a pagan giant, who is overcome in single combat with a Christian, in *Fierabras*, pp. 17, 31, 32; *Destruction de Rome*, 1290 ff.; *Bataille Loquifer*, 1308 ff.; *Gadifer* (Anal., p. 58); and *Chevalerie Ogier*, 11288 ff.[61] VO borrows the idea evidently from one of the latter group; probably from *Bataille Loquifer*, since there the giant's adversary is Rainouart, after whom Orson is modeled, and the giant as in VO offers his adversary his sister in marriage.[62]

20 Next day O, dressed in V's armor, resumes the interrupted combat, and is victorious over the Green Knight. The latter's life is spared on his agreeing to become a Christian and to go and yield himself to Pepin. O takes the shield from the tree. The Green Knight promises V a ring to take to the Green Knight's sister Esclarmonde, who has a brazen head which will declare to O his birth; the head predicts the future, but will cease speaking when the worthiest knight in the world enters the room; this knight is to marry Esclarmonde. V falls in love with Esclarmonde on hearing of her. O and Fezonne are affianced. — VN, *ibid.*

The combat between Orson and the Green Knight corresponds to that between Namelos and the giant in VN, episode 15, but is reworked after a different pattern, becoming more like the ordinary combat of two knights. Two more Arthurian commonplaces are the falling in love with

[61] And in *Galien*, p. 157, the giant Pinart has a wound-healing balm, which is probably the same, since it is said to have belonged to the Emperor Titus. Several of the passages here cited are collected by one or more of the following: W. Foerster, *Karrenritter*, p. 389; Wohlgemuth, *Riesen und Zwerge*, p. 65; A. Hertel, *Verzauberte Örtlichkeiten u. Gegenstände in der af. erz. Dichtung*, Hannover, 1908, p. 46; R. H. Griffith, in *MLN*, XXV (1910), 102; cf. Bruce, *Evolution*, I, 307 n. The "balm of Fierabras" is also alluded to in *Don Quixote*, pt. I, ch. 10.

[62] The latter point is also in Fierabras.

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a person not seen,[63] and the sending of a conquered knight to Arthur's court; Pepin replaces Arthur, and the situation is combined with the common *chanson de geste* incident in which the life of a conquered pagan is spared on condition that he become a Christian.[64] The name Esclarmonde is a favorite one for Saracen maidens beloved by Christian knights; it is used in this way in *Maugis d'Aigremont, Vivien de Monbranc, Huon de Bordeaux* and its continuations, and *Florent et Octavian*. The brazen head will be discussed in the remarks on ch. 23.

¶ 21 V is commanded by an angel in a dream to proceed with O on the morrow to the castle of Ferragu, where he will meet Esclarmonde and learn of his birth. The Green Knight is baptised, and receives the name Pepin (but the author continues to call him the Green Knight). V and O take leave of Savary and the Green Knight, the latter giving V the promised ring (20); whoever wears it will not be drowned or unjustly condemned.

There is some confusion here, due no doubt to carelessness. It is not at the castle of Ferragu, but at that of Esclarmonde, that V and O are to learn of their birth. Moreover, V has already determined to go to Esclarmonde's castle, so that the dream is unnecessary. It is a commonplace from the Grail romances; for example, in Gerbert's *Perceval*, 82 ff., Perceval is commanded by a voice in a dream to leave the Grail castle and start for home on the morrow, and, like Valentin, is plunged into deep thought as a result. The ring which protects from drowning and false witness is perhaps from *Charles le Chauve* (*Hist. litt.*,

[63] T. P. Cross, *MP*, XII (1915), 598 n. 4, 612 n. 3; M. Ramondt, in *Tijdschr. voor nederl. Taal- en Letterk.*, XLI (1922), 31 ff.

[64] The Green Knight, in accepting Christianity, remarks: *en celle foy veul viure et mourir*, which is perhaps an echo of Villon's refrain: *En ceste foy ie vueil viure et mourir* (*Ballade que Villon feit à la requeste de sa mère pour prier Nostre Dame*).

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XXVI, 98; Rubke, p. 15);[65] no use is made here of its magic properties.

22 Blandimain reaches the court of Pepin (19); his story makes it plain that V and O are the children of Bellissant; but he has promised not to tell where Bellissant is. The Green Knight also arrives (20), and Pepin starts with him for Constantinople, to tell the Emperor about it. At Rome, he learns that the Saracens, under Soudan Moradin, are besieging Constantinople; a crusade is proclaimed by the Pope; Pepin with his host arrives at the besieged city, and, after an indecisive battle, joins the besieged within.

Through Blandimain's revelations, the truth comes to light in a natural though absurd way. But the author also retains, in ch. 23, the supernatural revelation, as in the source. His purpose therefore in the present scene is not to eliminate a supernatural element from his story; it seems to be merely to imitate the situation in the *Tristan* of Thomas (I, 55 ff.), where the marshal Roald, arriving at the court of King Mark, reveals that the young Tristan, who has been sojourning there unknown, is the king's nephew.

The war at Constantinople, in VN a mere episode (16) in which the brothers, before their recognition, aid their father against the Saracens, is in our romance made to lead up to the family reunion which forms the natural close of the story (ch. 32). There is little in the details worthy of remark; the fighting follows usual patterns. It may be noted that Clarien and Vaudu, a pair of Saracens killed

[65] On rings which protect from drowning, cf. du Méril, *Floire et Blanceflor*, pp. lxviii, clxiii; Hertel, *Verzauberte Örtlichkeiten*, pp. 48, 63; W. Frahm, *Das Meer u. die Seefahrt in der af. Lit.*, Göttingen, 1914, p. 18; and add to the passages there collected: *Charles le Chauve* (as above); *Gaufrey*, p. 235; *Floris and Blauncheflur*, 390 ff.; *Reinke de Vos*, III, 6, lines 4907 ff. (this ring protects from practically everything).

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by the Green Knight, seem to owe their names to Clarion de Vaudune, a Saracen in *Siège de Barbastre.*

23 V and O reach the castle of Esclarmonde, which is covered with shining brass (*laiton*), and was built by a Saracen; it contains the brazen head (*teste d'airain*), made by a fay by *art d'ingromance*, which answers all questions. V demands entrance; Esclarmonde talks with him from a window, and tells him he must either present a ring from one of her brothers (Ferragu and the Green Knight), or joust with the seneschal. V, although he has the ring, chooses the latter alternative, whereupon Esclarmonde falls in love with him, and asks the brazen head who he is; but the head refuses to answer. The seneschal is unhorsed, and offers to allow V to enter the castle, on condition that he shall not speak to Esclarmonde; V refuses, the combat is resumed, and the seneschal is slain.

V and O then enter the castle; V presents the ring; Esclarmonde receives them graciously, and leads them to the room in which the brazen head is kept. A *vilain* and a lion guard the door; the lion recognizes V as a king's son, and will not hurt him, while O fells the *vilain*. They enter a rich chamber; the brazen head is in an *armaire* in the midst of four pillars. V opens the *armaire*, and the head replies to his question, telling him who he and O are; where their mother is; that V is to marry Esclarmonde; and that O will speak when a thread under his tongue is cut. The head then bows (*senclina bas*), and it never after spoke a word. Esclarmonde agrees to accept Christianity and to marry V. — VN, episode 18.

The essential thing in this chapter, the supernatural revelation of the identity of the brothers, is from VN, but the episode has been altered materially. Of the new features, one, the fight with the seneschal, is suggested in VN, for there, it will be recalled, the talking serpent which makes the revelations is also alluded to as a protecting monster.[66] This hint is followed out in accordance with a common formula, the circumstances being perhaps most like those of the Isle d'or adventure in *Biaus Descouneüs*, 1861 ff. — the maiden wise in the seven arts, the knight who fights

[66] Cf. p. 53.

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all comers, the battle watched by the maiden from a castle window, the maiden's willingness to marry the hero.[67]

In dealing with the Brazen Head, I have had to choose between repeating what has already been said, and endeavoring, somewhat at length, to account for the origin and development of the story. Since, next after Valentine and Orson themselves, with their contrasting characters, the Brazen Head is the most distinctive and the best-known feature of our romance, it has seemed worth while to follow the latter course.

The story of the Brazen Head rests upon two more or less distinct lines of tradition, of which the first is that of the Oracular Idol. In pagan times, images of the gods are frequently reported to have been endowed with motion; less frequently, but occasionally, with speech. Thus, Livy relates that the image of Juno at Veii was said to have assented by speech to its removal to Rome (V, 22); Valerius Maximus, repeating the story, adds another about a statue of Fortuna Muliebris (I, viii, 3, 4); and Lucian says that the statues in the temple of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis uttered oracles and shouted; at any rate, that a shout had been heard (*De Dea Syra*, 10).[68] In the temple of the Sibyl

[67] This story and its analogues are discussed by W. H. Schofield, *Studies on the Libeaus Desconus*, Boston, 1895 (Harvard *Studies and Notes*, IV); see especially pp. 178 ff. It is recognized as "The Source of Chaucer's *Rime of Sir Thopas*" by F. P. Magoun, Jr., *PMLA*, XLII (1927), 833 ff.

[68] Talking idols have also been heard in Egypt (G. Foucart, in J. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, IV, New York, 1912, pp. 794 ff.; J. H. Breasted, *History of the Ancient Egyptians*, New York, 1916, p. 358); in pagan Scandinavia (M. E. Seaton, in Hastings, *o. c.*, VII, New York, 1915, p. 157; B. S. Phillpotts, *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama*, Cambridge, 1920, p. 178); in Harran in Mesopotamia (D. Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, St. Petersburg, 1856, I, 200, 343; II, 368 ff.);

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at Cumae, actual speaking images, containing hollow tubes for conveying the voice from a speaker within the cavern, have been excavated, according to a recent writer;[69] a similar contrivance, again according to Lucian, was used by the "pseudo-prophet" Alexander.[70] Another device attributed to pagan priests by the early Christians was the hollow image containing a human speaker; such images are said by Rufinus (fourth century) and Theodoretus (fifth century) to have been in use in temples at Alexandria;[71] and they appear frequently, as Saracen idols, in the *chansons de geste* and romances.[72]

But in general, the Christian fathers regard idols as being actually inhabited by demons, who perform marvels through the idols in order to deceive their worshippers.[73]

in Africa (*Journal of the Anthropol. Institute*, VI, 1876–77, p. 173; E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894–96, p. 199); in Peru (L. Spence, in Hastings, *o. c.*, IV, 781); in Hawaii and Yucatan (H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*[3], New York, 1888, § 158); see also some miscellaneous references in E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[6], London, 1920, II, 169 ff.

[69] Alma Reed, in *New York Times Magazine*, May 2, 1926, p. 3, and May 9, p. 4; cf. *Amer. Journal of Archaeology*, XXX (1926), 366.

[70] A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divination dans l'antiquité*, Paris, 1879–82, III, 359; L. Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic and Experimental Science*, New York, 1923, I, 278.

[71] Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 25 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XXI, 533); Theodoretus, *Eccl. hist.*, V, 22.

[72] Boje, *Beuve de Hamtone*, p. 101 ("Der hohle Götze"); add *Aiol*, 9637 ff. For accounts of hollow images in Arabic writers, see Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, I, 200; II, 338, 368 ff.

[73] For references and discussion cf. the article by A. Michel, "L'idolatrie et la religion chrétienne," in A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, VII, Paris, 1922, cols. 648 ff.; also the article by Mangenot, "Démon d'après les pères," *ibid.*, IV (1911), 339 ff. Briefer remarks on the subject will be found in Bouché-Leclercq, *o. c.*, II, 129 n.; Tylor, *o. c.*, p. 178; F. Jaeger, *De oraculis quid veteres philosophi iudicaverint*, Rostock, 1910, p. 83 n.

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That among these marvels is included the speaking of oracles by the image itself, is not clearly stated by any of the fathers, but it seems to be implied in their language.[74] Already in the Apocalypse, there is a talking idol (XIII, 15); and it is a commonplace of medieval story that idols are inhabited by demons, who can and do speak either through the idol or through human mouths.[75]

It follows that, when Christianity is preached to a pagan people, the demons inhabiting the idols must be exorcised. Convenient illustrations of the process may be taken from the *Legenda Aurea*:[76]

St. Longinus breaks up the idols in a heathen temple with an ax, whereupon the devils come out and enter the bodies of bystanders. Longinus carries on a dialogue with them, finally expelling them. The people are converted. — P. 202.

St. Simon and St. Jude are brought into a temple, where the demons cry *per energumenos: Quid nobis et vobis, apostoli Dei vivi? Ecce in ingressu vestro flammis exurimur.* The apostles command them to come out and to break each one his image. Two Ethiopians, black and naked, issue out, break the idols, and depart with raucous cries. The result is the conversion of the city. — P. 710.

On St. Bartholomew's entrance into a city of India, no response

[74] Fontenelle apparently understood the matter so; cf. *Histoire des oracles*, ed. L. Maigron, Paris, 1908, p. 7.

[75] Some talking idols not referred to in the following discussion are in *Roman de Thèbes*, II, 106 ff.; *Aspremont*, 3813 ff.; Jean Bodel, *Jeu de saint Nicholas* (W. Creizenach, *Gesch. des neueren Dramas*, Halle, 1893, I, 139); *Kaiserchronik*, 10716 ff. (cf. A. Graf, *Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del medio evo*, Torino, 1882–83, II, 135 ff.; F. v. Bezold, *Das Fortleben der antiken Götter im mittelalterlichen Humanismus*, Bonn and Leipzig, 1922, pp. 28, 94); *Prophecies de Merlin*, I, 493; *Digby Plays*, p. 112. Christian images, too, may speak: *Vie de s. Alexis*, p. 147; *Miracles de la Ste. Vierge*, no. XLVIII; *Liber de miraculis Sanctae Mariae*, no. XXXIII; Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, III, 120 ff., 474 ff.; Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, ed. J. Bolte, Berlin, 1924, no. 665.

[76] Cf. P. Toldo, in *Studien zur vergl. Litteraturgesch.*, V (1905), 339 ff.

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can be obtained from the idol; but an idol in another city explains that this is because of the saint's presence. Next day, in the temple, the demon cries, "Cease to sacrifice to me, lest ye suffer worse than I." The apostle commands the demon to come out; it does so, breaking all the idols in the temple, and disappearing with a loud noise. King and people are baptised. — P. 540.

A Persian general, about to go into battle, can get no answer from his gods. At a temple in a neighboring city, he learns that this is because of the presence of the apostles Simon and Jude. The latter give permission for the idols to speak. Through the prophets (*phantastici* or *fanatici*), a bloody battle is foretold. The apostles, on the contrary, prophesy that messengers of peace will arrive next day; which comes to pass. Conversion is the result. — P. 708.

The conversion legend enters romance, as Heinzel pointed out,[77] in the account of the conversion of King Evalac in the *Estoire del Saint Graal.* Here too there is a talking idol:

King Evalac consults the image of Apollo in order to learn whether the clerk who has been stricken dumb and blind for opposing Josephe will recover, and how. The image gives no response, whereupon the image of Mars cries out that Apollo cannot speak because of Josephe's presence. The devil in the image of Mars then calls out for mercy; he throws down the image, breaks it in pieces, and destroys all the other images in the temple. With Josephe's permission, the devil speaks, and admits that he knows nothing about the future. — Pp. 45 ff.

Before we trace the conversion legend further through romance, I invite the reader to note its points of similarity to the Brazen Head story in VO. The Brazen Head is oracular; it inhabits a splendid castle, and is guarded by a heathen maiden; on the hero's arrival, it refuses to give information until questioned by the hero himself; and after answering his questions, it *senclina bas* and is forever silent. The result is that the heathen maiden embraces Christianity.

[77] *Die fr. Gralromane*, p. 136; cf. Bruce, *Evolution*, I, 386.

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All this is but a disguised version of the saint's legend in which the oracular idol in a heathen temple, silenced by the saint's arrival, speaks by the saint's permission, after which the demon is forced to leave it, the idol is shattered, and the heathen are converted. I think it is evident already that we are to look to the conversion legend as the ultimate source of this VO scene.

We now strike into unexplored paths, for the conversion legend in romance has not yet been studied, or recognized as such, so far as I have found, beyond this point. The first episodes to be considered are from the prose *Lancelot:*

At the Dolorouse Garde, the copper image of an armed knight on horseback, which has been placed by enchantment over the second gate, falls as soon as Lancelot, who is destined to conquer the castle, passes the first gate. It is at this castle that Lancelot learns his name and lineage. — I, 144, 151, 152.[78]

In the same castle, two copper knights guard the entrance to a chamber. Lancelot passes them with great difficulty, and comes to a copper damsel, who holds the keys of the enchantments in her right hand. He takes them, and approaches "the coffer," from which issue thirty copper tubes, each uttering a hideous voice; these voices cause the enchantments. As Lancelot opens the coffer, a whirlwind arises out of it, and so great a noise that it seems as if all the devils were there, *and in fact they were devils* (*et por voir si estoient il deable*). Lancelot falls in a swoon; when he recovers, and as he goes out, the pillar and the copper damsel sink into the ground, and he finds the copper knights at the door broken to pieces. — I, 191 ff.

I owe these two references to an article of Professor J. D. Bruce;[79] but Bruce, I think, missed the significance of the passages. The thesis of his article is that automata

[78] This passage has already been cited as a parallel to the bursting asunder of the serpent in VN (above, p. 56).

[79] "Human Automata in Classical Tradition and Mediaeval Romance," *MP*, X (1913), 511 ff.

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in romance were derived in the main from ancient and oriental sources;[80] and in particular, he thought that these copper images in *Lancelot* "were no doubt suggested by the descriptions [of automata] in Thomas' *Tristan* and the *Roman d'Alexandre*" (p. 521). This may be true to some extent; but the ending of the enchantment when the destined man appears, the imparting of information to him, the hideous voices, the whirlwind, the sinking and breaking of the images, and the mention of devils, cannot be accounted for in this way, and obviously come rather from the conversion legend.[81]

In VO also, we have an enchantment which is destined

[80] A similar thesis is maintained by E. Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du m. â.*, Paris, 1913, pp. 328 ff., 378. Neither writer pays special attention to *oracular* images, which are our concern here. — In addition to the references given by Bruce and Faral, the following may be consulted for stories of human (not oracular) automata: E. Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Literature*, New York, 1916, p. 20; W. W. Hyde, *MP*, XI (1913), 267; J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 74 n. 2; L. Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic and Exper. Science*, I, 187, 192, 250, 266; C. G. Leland, *The Unpublished Legends of Virgil*, London, 1899, p. 52; *Turpini Historia*, p. 8; M. J. bin Gorion, *Der Born Judas*, Leipzig, n. d., V, 179, 293, 305; M. B. Ogle, *MLN*, XXXV (1920), 129 ff.; J. R. Reinhard, *PMLA*, XXXVIII (1923), 437; Bruce, *Evolution*, II, 250; C. E. Turner, *Studies in Russian Literature*, London, 1882, pp. 303 ff.; M. J. Eisen, *Estnische Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1925, pp. 168, 172, and *Estonum carmina popularia*, I, Tarbati, 1926, no. 3; Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, III, 40, 56; H. L. Held, *Das Gespenst des Golem*, München, 1927, esp. pp. 106 ff.; C. Bloch, *Le Golem*, Strasbourg, 1928. Allied perhaps to the automaton is the homunculus: Clementine *Recognitions*, II, 9, 15, III, 47, X, 66; N. Antonio, *Bibliotheca Hispana vetus*, Matriti, 1788, II, 114; G. Milchsack, *Historia D. Johannis Fausti*, Wolfenbüttel, 1892, p. cxlv; Held, *Das Gespenst des Golem*, pp. 116 ff.

[81] There is another statue which falls and breaks when an enchantment ceases in *Lancelot*, III, 149.

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to end when the hero appears,[82] we have information imparted, and a sinking image. Only the violent character of the episode has been softened by the omission of the more evidently diabolical features. The second passage quoted from *Lancelot* is quite clearly a source of our scene, for it explains the curious fact that the Brazen Head is in an *armaire* which has to be opened by Valentin; this is imitated from Lancelot's opening of the coffer.

Still more evidently a conversion legend is the next passage quoted by Bruce:

Perlesvaus, pp. 202 ff. — The oracular image here is that of a copper bull, according to the conjecture of Evans and Bruce, who read *tors* for the *cors* printed by Potvin.[83] Like our Brazen Head, it stands in the midst of a castle, on four columns. It cries so loudly at all hours that it is heard for a league around, for it contains an evil spirit which gives response to the inhabitants of the castle concerning whatever they wish to ask. Perceval, on arriving at the castle, forces the fifteen hundred inhabitants to pass between two copper men with hammers who guard the door. All are killed, save thirteen who agree to believe in God. The evil spirit issues from the bull like a peal of thunder, and the bull melts away.[84]

This is doubtless another of the sources of our Brazen Head story. For the two copper men with hammers, our

[82] I would not, of course, be understood as maintaining that this common situation is always due to the influence of a conversion legend; the other circumstances must be considered.

[83] S. Evans, *High History of the Holy Grail*, Everyman's Library, p. 214; Bruce, article cited, p. 521 n. The conjecture (despite Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 235) is undoubtedly correct; compare the Biblical golden calf (*torel*) which, according to the romance *Béatrix*, p. 130, harbored a devil who told people things that pleased them. Of the same family probably is the prophesying lion of brass which does not lie, referred to in *Vengeance Raguidel*, 4400, 4862.

[84] Another adaption of the conversion legend is the dragon's head in a shield, inhabited by a devil, and expelled by Perceval: *Perlesvaus*, pp. 199 ff.; Gerbert, *Perceval*, 8893 ff.

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author has substituted a lion and a *vilain*, borrowed from another place in *Perlesvaus*, in which a chained lion and two copper *vilains* guard the entrance to the Fisher King's domain;[85] and he has appropriated from the common fund of romantic lore the well-attested fact that a lion will not injure the child of a king.[86]

So far, we lack one important element of our Brazen Head story: the heroine. We find her in another type of conversion legend, of which that of St. Irene is an example:

> Irene's father encloses her in a splendid tower, surrounded by a garden; the place is filled with all the rarities of the world, including ninety-eight idols. Receiving no answer from the latter in regard to a proposed marriage, she invokes the God of the Christians; an angel appears and instructs her; she is baptised, and throws the idols out of the window.[87]

Very similar are the legends of Sts. Christina,[88] Cyriaene, and Barbara. A romanticised version appears in the Jewish story of Joseph and Asenath:

[85] *Perlesvaus*, p. 63.

[86] This is clearly stated in *Boeve de Haumtone*, 1668, and in the other versions (*Beues*, 2391; *Bueve II*, 3976; *III*, 3894; *Bovo*, 1741); also in the southern ME. *Octavian*, 477, and in the prose *Lancelot*, III, 233. More doubtful passages are *Perlesvaus*, p. 85; *Floire et Blanceflor*, p. 234; *Torrent of Portyngale*, 283. Post-medieval examples are Sidney, *Arcadia*, fol. 82 v. in the facsimile reprint of Sommer, London, 1891; Shakspere, *I Henry IV*, II, 4; Fletcher, *The Mad Lover*, IV, 1 (an interesting parallel to the idea in *Lancelot*, where the peculiarity serves as a test of royal blood). Most of these passages are collected by Liebrecht, in *Engl. Studien*, IV (1881), 133, and Kölbing, *ibid.*, XVI (1892), 454, with others which bear upon the parallel superstition, that a lion will not injure a virgin, cf. also Bloch, *Les rois thaumaturges*, pp. 256 ff.

[87] From the version of Petrus de Natalibus, translated by G. Frenken, *Wunder und Taten der Heiligen*, München, 1925, pp. 39 ff.; Frenken also gives a version of the Barbara legend, pp. 35 ff., and discusses this group of legends, p. 200.

[88] A. C. Ott, *Gautier de Coincy's Christinenleben*, Erlangen, 1922.

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Asenath lives in a strong tower, with metal gods; Joseph arrives, and rebukes her for worshipping idols; she throws them out of the window — and eventually marries Joseph.[89]

Such a story, I would suggest, serves as a bridge to romantic stories of the following type:

Bauduin de Sebourc, XII, 691 ff. — The Old Man of the Mountain maintains an earthly Paradise,[90] which is ruled over by his daughter. She is fated never to laugh until the flower of chivalry enters. Bauduin comes, she laughs, the Old Man is killed, and the pair elope.

The mention of Paradise connects this story with the conversion legend in *Belle Hélène* (Anal., pp. 60 ff.):

King Grabaux of Bavaria, in his palace called Paradise, has an oracular brazen man,

A qui il faisoit dire tout ce que il vouloit.[91]

His daughter, however, becomes a Christian. The king, with the idol's approval, desires to take his daughter to wife; she flees, and finds refuge with Anthoine (Hélène's father), who returns with her to Paradise and drives the devil out of the idol. King and people embrace Christianity.

It has not been noted, I think, that this episode is a mutilated form of a version of the Constance story which appears as a Mohammedan conversion legend in two MSS. of the *Arabian Nights*, and is translated by H. Däumling, *Studie über den Typus des Mädchens ohne Hände*, München, 1912, pp. 57 ff.:[92]

[89] E. Mason, *Old-World Love Stories*, London, 1913, pp. 273 ff.; cf. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York and London, 1901-06, II, 172 ff.; *JEGP*, IX (1910), 228 ff.; Frenken, *o. c.*, p. 200.

[90] Cf. Marco Polo, I, 23.

[91] MS. Bibl. nat. f. fr. 12,482, fol. 57b. I am indebted to Miss M. Schlauch for a transcript of this passage.

[92] For the MSS., cf. Chauvin, *Bibl. des ouvrages arabes*, V, 138. The Mohammedans too seem to have regarded idols as oracular, and the abode of evil spirits; cf. Bruce, *MP*, X, 515, and Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, VII, 151.

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A heathen king's daughter lives in a splendid castle, adoring an oracular idol; she becomes converted to Islam, whereupon the devil issues from the idol; the king desires to marry his daughter . . .

and there follows a complete version of the Constance story.[93]

It is not the place here to attempt to establish the exact filiation of these stories. The significant thing for our purpose is that they evidently belong together; that is to say, that conversion legends of the *Irene* type had been put to romantic use. One source of VO is certainly a romanticised conversion legend of this type, from which our author derived the idea of an oracular idol adored in a splendid castle by a Saracen maiden, who loves and marries the hero and forsakes her idolatry.

And now only one element of the Brazen Head story is lacking, namely, the Head itself; for our stories up to this point have had to do with images of various kinds, but none with a head precisely. The rest of our discussion must therefore deal with the Oracular Head.

Here the material is more abundant. The Oracular Head, though not appearing elsewhere in romance, is frequent in more sober medieval narratives; instances have more than once been collected;[94] and VO, since Warton, has figured

[93] The Barbara legend also has been influenced by the Constance story in some versions (Schlauch, *Chaucer's Constance*, p. 74); and the legend of St. Dympna (*Acta Sanctorum*, May, III, 478 ff.) has the Constance opening, but lacks any reference to oracular idols.

[94] J. Selden, *De Dis Syris*, syntag. I, cap. 2 (second ed., Amstelodami, 1680, pp. 35 ff.); G. Naudé, *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages qui ont esté faussement soupçonnez de magie*, Paris, 1625, ch. 18, pp. 528 ff.; T. Warton, *Hist. of Engl. Poetry* (ed. W. C. Hazlitt, London, 1871, II, 339 ff.); W. J. Thoms, *Early Engl. Prose Romances*[3], London, 1858, I, 182 ff.; O. Ritter, *De Roberti Greeni fabula: Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, Thoruni, 1866, pp. 23 ff.; A. W. Ward, *Old Engl. Drama*[4], Oxford, 1901, pp. xlii ff.; Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, pp. 177 ff., 184.

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in such lists. However, there has been no attempt to arrange the material in order.

The medieval story of the Oracular Head presents itself, from one point of view, as a continuation of the earlier story of the Oracular Idol which we have just been considering. Like the idol, the head is inhabited by a demon which gives responses; and the story sometimes has a dénouement analogous to the conversion scene: the head is destroyed, and its possessor forsakes magical studies. But a new factor has evidently entered in, which has transformed the Oracular Idol into a mere head;[95] and this appears to be the custom, widespread throughout the world at various times, of using severed human heads for purposes of divination.[96] It would lead too far afield to enter here into the general subject of skull-divination, as also into the subject of talking severed heads in general, apart from divination; some material for both will be found in the note.[97] Our

[95] So in Robert Greene's play *Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, IV, 1, Mahomet speaks from a brazen head, as he had done from many an idol in the romances.

[96] The connection was first suggested by Selden, *l. c.;* it was recognized by Seelmann, p. lv, in his reference to "Liebreich, Volkstumskunde 291" (F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 290).

[97] For skull-divination, without reference to speech, see Kittredge, *o. c.*, p. 181 n. 5, p. 183 n. 4; the articles "Teraphim" by A. C. Welch in J. Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, IV, New York, 1902, p. 718, and "Divination (Jewish)" by M. Gaster in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, IV, 811; Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.*, II, 24 (preserved skulls at Alexandria); Theodoretus, *Eccl. hist.*, III, 27 (ditto at Antioch). For head preservation in general, with an occasional hint at divination, see Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[4], II, 150 ff.; R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, Stuttgart, 1878, pp. 127 ff.; Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, II, 317 ff.; G. A. Wilken, "Iets over de Schedelvereering bij de Volken van den Indischen Archipel," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van nederlandsch Indië*, XXXVIII (1889), 89 ff.; Pinza, "La conservazione delle teste humane," *Soc. Geog. Ital., Memorie*, VII (1897–98), 305 ff.; A. C. Kruijt, "Het

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special interest here is in stories of skull-divination in which the head speaks.

There are, first, a few stories of people coming across or digging up skulls, or beheading someone, then putting questions, and receiving responses. St. Macarius interrogated a skull, apparently met by chance, regarding the state of the damned, and the information obtained may be found in the *Legenda Aurea;*[98] the Arabs tell a similar story of Jesus.[99] But elsewhere, the enterprise is one of black magic, for the responses, as in idol-divination, are given by demons. Joseph, an English Hospitaller at Acre in the thirteenth century, got a young man who had learned magic of the Saracens to dig up a skull and interrogate it as to what was going on at home; a demon answered, telling him of a seven years' war between king and barons.[100] Jean Bodin,

Koppensnellen der Toradja's van Midden-Celebes," *Mededeelingen der Konink. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterk., Vierde Reeks*, III, Amsterdam, 1899, pp. 147 ff.; *idem, Het Animisme in den indischen Archipel*, 's Gravenhage, 1906; J. Scheftelowitz, *Alt-Palästinensischer Bauernglaube in religionsvergleichender Beleuchtung*, Hannover, 1925, pp. 123 ff. Of talking severed heads, apart from divination, the largest collection will be found in Kittredge, *o. c.*, pp. 148-68, 174, 177-84, 186-91; a few additional references are: Naudé, *Apologie*, ch. 9, p. 187; M. Delrio, *Disquisitionum magicarum libri sex*, Col. Agrip., 1679, II, 19, p. 210; Hastings, *Encycl. of Rel. and Eth.*, IV, 785, VI (New York, 1914), 536; Kruijt, "Het Koppensnellen," p. 169; Kuiper, *Malegijs*, pp. 194 ff.; H. Lambel, *Erzählungen u. Schwänke*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 36; *Eyrbyggja Saga*, cap. 43; Cosquin, *Etudes Folklorigues*, pp. 349 ff.; I. P. McKeehan, in *Univ. of Colorado Studies*, XV (1925), 20; Loomis, *Celtic Myth*, p. 19.

[98] P. 101; cf. *Romania*, VI (1877), 178. The story was told also of the Irish St. Cainnic (McKeehan, *l.c.*, quoting Plummer, *Vitae SS. Hiberniae*, I, 155).

[99] Translated in R. Basset, *Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes*, III, Paris, 1926, pp. 171 ff.; cf. V. Chauvin, in *Bibl. de la Fac. de Philos. et Lettres de l'Univ. de Liége*, VI (1899), 75.

[100] Kittredge, *o. c.*, p. 181, and the references there given.

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the sixteenth-century philosopher, tells of a king — apparently a contemporary — who, anxious to learn of his end, had a boy beheaded, with a result fatal to himself. The head uttered only the words, *Vim patior*, which indicate that a demon, or perhaps the spirit of the dead, was constrained by magic to respond.[101]

Next logically, but older, are the stories of talking severed heads preserved and habitually used for divination. These come to us, in the main, through Jewish and Arabic writers.[102] There is some evidence that the *teraphim* of the Bible were in fact mummified human heads; certain rabbinical writers state this, and some say further that the head must be prepared at a given hour in a given year.[103] Others assert that the heads actually speak; these passages are collected by van Dale, *De origine ac progressu idololatriae*, Amstelodami, 1696, pp. 664 ff., and Chwolsohn, *Die Ssabier*, II, 154. Maimonides (twelfth century), in a discussion of this form of divination, opines that the speech is heard only in imagination.[104] But a Jewish folk-tale represents such a head as holding forth at great length. Every eighty years, says the story, the servants of the *teraphim* sacrificed a learned youth, cut off his head, and placed under his tongue a shield on which was inscribed the name of Satan; the head was then worshipped as an idol. A certain youth, enticed to the place, is warned of his fate by the head of his predecessor,

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 182.

[102] But there are some Scandinavian stories of respectable antiquity (the head of Mímer speaks, *Voluspa*, 46 [4], *Sigrdrifomal*, 14 [3], cf. Sijmons, *Edda*, II, 1324; Mogk, in Paul, *Grundriss*, III, 306; Kittredge, *o. c.*, p. 181), and two or three more recent ones from Italy (A. van Dale, *De oraculis*, Amstelodami, 1700, p. 216; Kittredge, pp. 183, 184).

[103] See the references quoted at the beginning of note 97, and those here in the text.

[104] van Dale, p. 609; Chwolsohn, II, 150.

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and the story relates his escape.[105] It appears to be an elaboration of one told by the eighth-century chronicler pseudo-Dionysius of Tell-Mahre as an actual occurrence in 765 among the Manichaeans at Harran; but in the chronicle the sacrifice is yearly, and the intended victim, kept alive until after the arrival of his successor, warns him in more credible fashion.[106] Thus the folk-tale shows how a silent head may become a talking one in popular story, and also suggests that the Jews may have had a part in the carrying of the Oracular Head tradition from East to West.

It was at Harran also that the Sabians were said to have preserved an oracular human head; the details are given in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim (tenth century) and in the *Cosmography* of Dimeschqi (1265–1327). According to the *Fihrist*, as translated by Chwolsohn,[107] a man resembling Mercury was sacrificed yearly at the time when the planet Mercury had reached its highest altitude; his head, preserved, spoke from time to time, forecasting the future and answering questions. The *Cosmography* tells much the same story.[108]

One noteworthy feature of these Arabic stories is their astrological element. Clearly, they are connected with the idea that astrological images have magic powers: another wide subject, of which it is enough to say here that the idea seems to have come from the Neoplatonists by way of the Jews and Arabs, and to have formed part of the astrological revival of the twelfth century,[109] although frequently

[105] *Noraoth anše maase*, translated by bin Gorion, *Der Born Judas*, V, 195 ff.

[106] Chwolsohn, II, 131; J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahré*, Paris, 1895 (*Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, CXII), pp. 68 ff.; R. Duval, *La litt. syriaque*, Paris, 1899, p. 206.

[107] *Fihrist*, bk. IX, cap. 3; Chwolsohn, II, 19 ff.

[108] Bk. I, cap. 9, § 4; Chwolsohn, II, 388 ff.

[109] von Bezold, *Fortleben der antiken Götter*, pp. 81 ff.

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attacked by scholars, and finally condemned by the Church.[110] Another thing to be remarked is the evidence of oral transmission afforded by the Jewish folk-tale. Both these features — astrological connection, and oral transmission — are present from the first in the European story of the artificial Oracular Head; which fact makes it pretty evident that the latter story, in part at least, is due to oral accounts of the severed Oracular Head, which made their way into Europe from the East.

We are now ready to hear William of Malmesbury, who, writing in 1125, is the first to give the story of the artificial Oracular Head:

> . . . quod de Gerberto *fama dispersit:* fudisse sibi statuae caput, *certa inspectione syderum, cum videlicet omnes planetae exordia cursus sui meditarentur*, quod non nisi interrogatum loqueretur, sed verum affirmative vel negative pronuntiaret. Verbi gratia, diceret Gerbertus, "Ero apostolicus?" responderet statua, "Etiam." "Moriar antequam cantem missam in Jerusalem?" "Non." Quo illum ambiguo deceptum *ferunt* . . .

forgetting that there is at Rome a church called Jerusalem, at which the Pope sings mass on three Sundays. On one of these days, while preparing for mass, Gerbert was taken ill, and

> consulta statua, deceptionem et mortem suam cognovit.

Calling together his cardinals, he lamented his crimes (including his pact with the devil, of which William has already given an account), and commanded that his body be torn limb from limb. No more is told regarding the head.[111]

[110] Delrio, *Disquisitiones magicae*, lib. I, cap. 3, qu. 1, and cap. 4, qu. 1; Chwolsohn, *o. c.*, I, 544, 736 ff.; II, 658 ff.; M. Jacobi, in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, II, New York, 1907, p. 22; Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic*, see Index under "Image, engraved and astrological."

[111] *De gestis regum Anglorum*, II, 172; ed. Stubbs, I, 202.

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The Gerbert in question is Sylvester II, Pope from 999 to 1003: "the first mind of his time, its greatest teacher, its most eager learner, and most universal scholar."[112] Gerbert's reputation as a magician, an outgrowth of his interest in science, and perhaps also of the envy and wonder aroused by his brilliant career,[113] is attested as early as 1006,[114] but the legend in its developed form appears first in a work of the schismatic Cardinal Benno, who about 1080 affirms that Gerbert had a familiar spirit, which made to him the ambiguous prediction later given by William of Malmesbury.[115] This prediction, modeled evidently on the ambiguous oracles of old, naturally suggested the idea of the Oracular Idol which we have already traced, but which was now modified by the Oracular Head story from the East, with its astrological element. Doubtless the rise of the story was

[112] H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, New York, 1919, I, 286.

[113] A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo*, Torino, 1893, II, 12 ff.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[115] *Ibid.*, pp. 8 ff., 51. — Gerbert's magical reputation has been discussed by Delrio, *o. c.*, lib. III, qu. 12; Naudé, *Apologie*, ch. 19, pp. 541 ff.; C. F. Hock, tr. J. M. Axinger, *Hist. du pape S. II.*, Paris, 1842, pp. 408 ff.; A. Olleris, *Vie de Gerbert*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1867, pp. 321 ff.; J. J. I. Döllinger, *Die Pabstfabeln des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart, 1890, pp. 184 ff.; R. Allen, in *Engl. Historical Review*, VII (1892), 663 ff.; Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni*, II, 1 ff.; K. Schultess, *Die Sagen über S. II.*, Hamburg, 1893 (*Samml. gemeinverst. wiss. Vorträge, Neue Folge*, VII); F. Picavet, *G., un pape philosophe*, Paris, 1897, pp. 201 ff. (from Olleris); R. Meyer, *Gerbertsagnet*, København, 1902; H. K. Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, London, 1910, V, 111; Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic*, I, 704. The most valuable of these discussions for the Gerbert legend in general are those of Graf and Meyer. None of them give any attention to the Oracular Head element in the story, beyond presenting lists of parallels; these are noted in the text, except where they are erroneous. Naudé, however, in another place (530 ff.), connects the head (following Selden) with the *teraphim* and astrological images, and explains it as perhaps a mechanical device.

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favored by Gerbert's actual interest in Arabic astrology,[116] and the fact that he had been interested in mechanical contrivances, [117] and had made many astronomical models.[118] In some such way as this, Benno's story (which, according to Döllinger and Graf, probably rested already upon oral tradition) [119] must have developed into the Oracular Head story which William of Malmesbury, avowedly repeating oral accounts, tells in 1125.

The Head story, connected with the name of Gerbert, continued to circulate orally,[120] for we meet a new version of it about 1216, according to which Gerbert had a demon enclosed in a golden head, which enlightened him on difficult problems in arithmetic. Here again the Head story has been grafted upon an earlier and headless version, which is given by Michael Scot.[121] A little later, we find a variant of William's story told among the marvels attributed to Virgil, in the *Image du Monde*, a poem of about 1245.[122]

[116] Thorndike, *o. c.*, I, 697 ff.

[117] William of Malmesbury, *o. c.*, II, 168; Picavet, *o. c.*, p. 190.

[118] Picavet, *o. c.*, pp. 76 ff.

[119] Döllinger, *o. c.*, p. 186; Graf, *o. c.*, p. 16.

[120] In writing also to some extent; I have met it in Alberic des Trois Fontaines (1264; passage reprinted in Graf, p. 66), in Andrea Dandolo (whose chronicle ends 1339; L. A. Muratorius, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores*, XII, Mediolani, 1728, col. 231), and in Higden (fourteenth century; *Polychronicon*, VII, 76), all of whom copy William; thereafter not until the Reformation (J. Wier, *De praestigiis daemonum*, Basiliae, 1564, V, 4, pp. 495 ff.; Matthias Flaccius Illiricus, *Eccl. hist.*, Basiliae, 1567, X, 548; N. Wanley, *Wonders of the Little World*, London, 1678, bk. VI, ch. 4, ¶ 20); but I cannot pretend to have looked everywhere. After Higden, Gerbert's head is always brass; cf. below, pp. 208 ff.

[121] Thorndike, *o. c.*, I, 705.

[122] Still unprinted. The Virgil passage is given by du Méril, *Mélanges archéologiques et littéraires*, Paris, 1850, p. 432; the French and the English prose may also be consulted (*L'Image du Monde*, p. 185; *Mirrour of the World*, p. 159).

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Virgil, like Gerbert, makes an Oracular Head which utters an ambiguous prophecy, and the enchanter meets his death in accordance therewith. Comparetti believed that the story had been applied to Virgil by a sort of confusion, the same books telling the marvelous deeds of Virgil and of Gerbert.[123] But such is the way of stories everywhere, regardless of written sources.

The *Renart Contrefait* in 1319 repeats the Virgil story with additional detail,[124] and is the first to say that the head was of brass. But the talking Brazen Head had made its appearance a few years earlier, at the trial of the Templars in London (1310). Henry Tanet, an Irishman who had been in the East, there deposed that "a certain Templar" had a two-faced brazen head which, he used to say, answered to everything asked.[125] The significance of this bit of gossip to those at the trial lay in the fact that the Templars were being accused of idolatry; to us, it signifies that talking heads continued to travel from the East to Europe (the credulous Tanet is "oral transmission" in person), and that they were now beginning to be brazen.

In fact, from 1310 on, nearly all the Oracular Heads are

[123] D. Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, London, 1895, pp. 305 ff.

[124] *Renart Contrefait*, vol. II, p. 73, lines 29593 ff. Graf (*Roma nella memoria*, II, 256) says that the Virgil story is in Alberic des Trois Fontaines, but this must be an error. Meyer (*Gerbertsagnet*, p. 88), also erroneously, attributes the story to Faust instead of Virgil. In the *Gesta Romanorum* (late fourteenth century; ed. Oesterley, cap. 57), a speaking statue made by Virgil serves as the introduction to a widespread tale, on which see Bolte's edition of Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, II, 257, and Wesselski, *Märchen des Mittelalters*, p. 227.

[125] D. Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, London, 1737, II, 358.

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brazen. One imagines at first that the explanation may lie in some astrological doctrine as to the correspondence between the planets and the metals. But this is not so; first, because brass does not appear to have been one of the metals associated with the planets;[126] and secondly, because, as we have seen, the Head had been talking, under planetary influence, for nearly two centuries before it became brass. The reason seems to be simply that, beginning in the latter part of the twelfth century, the custom had arisen of describing marvelous statuary of all kinds as brazen. Whereas in the *Roman de Troie* and the *Tristan* of Thomas, for example, the images are either of gold[127] or of unspecified material, we find singing birds of brass in *Floire et Blanceflor*, and a brazen statue by Virgil in *Sept Sages:* both poems of the second half of the twelfth century.[128] Virgil's statuary, indeed, is predominantly brazen, and perhaps it is in the spread of his legend in the thirteenth century that the explanation is to be found for the popularity of brass. In the *Image du Monde*, already quoted, while the Oracular Head is not yet brazen, other statues made by Virgil are. Also in the thirteenth century, we have the talking brazen lion in *Vengeance Raguidel* (note 83 above); and it is well known how Guido delle Colonne (1287) made the Trojan horse into a horse of brass.[129] All this brazen statuary antedates the earliest brazen Oracular Head that I have found, that of "quidam Templarius" in 1310. While doubtless there were brazen Oracular Heads somewhat before

[126] See the table and discussion in E. O. v. Lippmann, *Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie*, Berlin, 1919, pp. 216 ff.

[127] So also, the metal first associated with Gerbert's head is gold; above, p. 207.

[128] The passages referred to are collected by Faral, *Recherches*, pp. 328 ff.

[129] Skeat, ed. Chaucer, Oxford, 1894, V, 377.

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this,[130] it appears on the whole that brass in the Oracular Head story is merely the result of a thirteenth-century fashion.

To return to the Templars. The famous Baphomet which they were accused of worshipping was frequently described as a head of some kind, and may well have been thought to be oracular, although a rapid skimming of the trial records has not brought to light any further evidence of this.[131] But perhaps we may charge to the account of the Templars the metal head at Tavara in Spain, in a church built "in the time of the Templars," which cried "Judio en Tavara" whenever a Jew entered the town, and continued with the command, "Judio fuera de Tavara"; which two sayings became proverbial. Bishop Tostado tells the story in the fifteenth century, and explains of course that the head has been destroyed.[132] But this head obviously owes more to the guardian images at Rome in the Virgil legend than to the Templar accusations.[133]

[130] This seems to be indicated by a curious passage in the thirteenth-century romance *Guy of Warwick*. A certain Soudan is decapitated, and his head is placed on a pillar "within a head of brass" (French text in M. Weyrauch, *Die mittelengl. Fassungen der Sage von G. of W.*, Breslau, 1899, p. 19; English text, Auch. 4095); which procedure looks very much like the echo of some story of a talking brazen head not otherwise recorded.

[131] Bibliography in G. Lizerand, *Le dossier de l'affaire des Templiers*, Paris, 1923. On Baphomet, see further S. Reinach in *Rev. de l'hist. des religions*, LXIII (1911), 25 ff.; Kittredge, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, p. 185; Runeberg, *Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart*, ch. 2a.

[132] Tostado's commentary on *Numbers*, cap. 21, qu. 19. I have not been able to consult this, but rely on the accounts of R. de Yepes, *Hist. de la muerte y martyrio del S. Innocente de la Guardia*, Madrid, 1583, fol. 60 ff.; B. J. Feijóo, *Theatro critico*, Madrid, 1753, III, disc. II, ¶ 20 ff.; D. Clemencin, ed. *Don Quixote*, Madrid, 1839, VI, 284.

[133] On talismanic images, cf. Graf, *Roma, passim;* R. M. Dawkins, "Ancient Statues in Mediaeval Constantinople," *Folk Lore*, XXXV (1924), 209 ff.

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The first talking Brazen Head, we have seen, is that mentioned in England by Tanet in 1310; and the fourteenth century seems to have been the period in which the manufacture of Brazen Heads was most active, and in England especially. Thus, William of Newburgh (d. 1198) had told how Stephen, procurator of Anjou, during the absence of King Richard I in the Holy Land, had consulted "a head" concerning the king's return and, like Gerbert, had received a misleading prophecy regarding his own death.[134] In William, the head is merely *caput quoddam*, perhaps a skull, like that consulted by the Hospitaller Joseph a little later.[135] But Higden, who repeats the story in the fourteenth century, calls it plainly *caput aeneum*.[136]

It was at Oxford that the English stories took deepest root. The poet Gower (c. 1390) says that he has read how Grosseteste (an Oxford scholar of the previous century) worked hard to make a head of brass which should foretell the future, but lost all his labor through a moment of *lachesse*, procrastination.[137] Another version of the Grosseteste story is given by the monk Richard of Bardney (1503), who says that the head was made at Oxford, that it spoke *tempore Saturni* — on Saturdays?[138] — that, while being

[134] *Hist. rerum Anglicarum*, lib. V, cap. 6 (ed. Howlett, II, 424).

[135] Above, p. 202.

[136] *Polychronicon*, VIII, 132.

[137] *Confessio Amantis*, bk. IV, lines 234 ff.

[138] *Tempore Saturni loquitur Saturnia proles.* Similarly, the bronze head in *Don Quixote* (pt. 2, ch. 62, see below) speaks on Saturdays only. William of Auvergne (thirteenth century) says that it is celebrated among the astrologers and written in many books that a statue will speak like a man if one casts it of bronze in the rising of Saturn (*De legibus*, cap. 26, quoted by Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic*, II, 351). This occasional connection with Saturn is perhaps the result of his reputation as an astrologer and soothsayer (Lippmann, *o. c.*, p. 286; *Piers Plowman*, B, VI, 327).

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put in position, it fell and was broken, and that the common people say that the fragments are preserved in a vault at Lincoln.[139] Here again we note the astrological connection, and the reference to oral transmission.[140] Richard adds that Grosseteste, warned by the omen, forsook worldly studies and entered the Church: perhaps a reminiscence of the old conversion legend. And, almost at the same moment at which Gower was writing, a chronicler was recording a contemporary (1387) Oxford marvel: a head had been made of wax, *opere nigromantico*, and "at the time appointed for speaking" had uttered the following cryptic saying: *Caput decidetur, caput elevabitur, pedes elevabuntur super caput;* which the chronicler fails to expound.[141]

[139] H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, London, 1691, II, 333.

[140] Curiously like Bardney's story is the account in Jewish legend of the destruction of the (silent) Golem or artificial man made by Rabbi Löw at Prague in the sixteenth century. The Golem worked every day *except Saturday*, the Sabbath; but one Friday night, the Rabbi having forgotten to remove the plate containing the Divine name from under its tongue, the Golem entered upon a career of destruction, only terminated when the Rabbi hastened to remove the plate; whereupon the Golem *fell to pieces, and legend has it that the fragments are still preserved in the attic of the synagogue* (Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, III, 59; Held, *Das Gespenst des Golem*, pp. 40 ff.). It would seem as if the Brazen Head story, circulating orally in a form like Bardney's, had given rise to this somewhat later Jewish legend. On the other hand, the elements of the Jewish tale (Sabbath, fall and breaking, remains in the attic) appear in separate stories in the collection of Bloch (*Le Golem*, pp. 4, 9, 158, 160); but whether this represents an earlier or a later stage of the tradition I cannot discover.

[141] *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, ed. J. R. Lumby (Rolls Series, 1895), vol. II, p. 258. The story is repeated by Stow (*Annales*, Londini, 1615, p. 302), who however says that the head was of earth: a misreading no doubt, *terra* for *cera*. Thoms (cf. note 94 above), in copying Stow, further changes "Richard II" to "Edward II," in which error he is followed by Ritter and Ward.

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Most familiar of all to English readers is the Brazen Head made by Roger Bacon, another thirteenth-century Oxonian, and a younger friend or pupil of Grosseteste. This story has not been traced back beyond the Elizabethan folk-book and the play of Robert Greene.[142] But it is evident, from what has been said, that the elements of the story existed at Oxford much earlier. Gower's story of Grosseteste, though but an outline, would serve equally well as an outline of the Elizabethan story of Bacon: Bacon, too, lost the fruit of his labor through a moment of procrastination. The threefold prophecy of Bacon's head — "Time is, Time was, Time is past" — follows the form set by the 1387 head of wax. It is easy to see how the Bacon story grew up from these materials; perhaps it was already circulating orally in the fourteenth century.[143]

Another seat of magic was Orleans,[144] where, according to popular rumor as recorded in a conversation manual of 1396, the devil taught *nigromancie* through a Brazen Head.[145] Curiously contemporary with these Oxford and Orleans stories is the earliest mention that I have found of the talking statue made by Albertus Magnus. This occurs in the *Rosaio della Vita*, a moral treatise composed by one

[142] Ward, *Old English Drama*[4], pp. xxxvii ff.

[143] Ward (p. xxxviii) suggests that the tradition connecting Bacon with Brasenose had something to do with the story. This appears first, I think, in Bale (*Illustrium Maioris Britanniae scriptorum summarium*, 1548, fo. 114 v[0]), who remarks that Bacon was said to have performed great wonders at Brasenose (*ad nasum aeneum*) through the working of evil spirits whom he forced to do his will. Ward further shows (p. 228) that the name Brasenose is older than the foundation of the College in 1509. Perhaps the two traditions grew up together; but the head story is probably at least as old as the Brasenose tradition.

[144] Cf. v. Bezold, *Fortleben der antiken Götter*, pp. 88, 106.

[145] *Zeitschr. für neufranz. Sprache u. Lit.*, I (1879), 7.

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Matteo Corsini in 1373.[146] Albertus, says the story, made a talking statue of metal, according to certain courses of the planets (the phrase is clearly a reminiscence of William of Malmesbury's *certa inspectione syderum*), but not by any diabolical art or necromancy, which are forbidden by the Christian faith. The situation, however, was misunderstood by another friar who, hearing the statue speak in Albertus' absence, thought it was an idol of evil nature, and destroyed it. Albertus, on returning, explained to the penitent friar his error, and declared that thirty thousand years must elapse before the making of such a statue would again be possible. The story is valuable as pointing to the derivation of the Albertus legend from the Gerbert legend, and as showing how the relation of the Oracular Head to the Oracular Idol, while still recognized, might be ignored or denied.[147]

There is a reference in 1583 to a talking metal head made by Enrique de Villena, a fifteenth-century Spanish savant.[148] But after that date, the old stories are seldom repeated save

[146] The story is reproduced from the *Rosaio* (Firenze, 1845) by F. Zambrini, *Libro di novelle antiche*, Bologna, 1868 (*Scelta di curiosità*, XCIII), p. 74; cf. Zambrini, *Le opere volgari a stampa dei secoli XIII e XIV*, Bologna, 1866, p. 119.

[147] According to Tostado (fifteenth century) and all later writers in whom I have found the story, it was Thomas Aquinas, then a pupil of Albert's, who destroyed the statue; the later versions vary in some details (Naudé, *Apologie*, ch. 18, pp. 529 ff.; Feijóo, *Theatro critico*, *l. c.*, which appears to have the correct reference, to Tostado's *Numbers* commentary, cf. n. 132 above; J. Sighart, *Albert the Great*, tr. T. A. Dixon, London, 1876, p. 127; Held, *Das Gespenst des Golem*, p. 114; K. and W. Krafft, *Briefe und Documente aus der Zeit der Reformation im 16. Jh.*, Elberfeld, 1875, p. 113).

[148] Yepes, *Hist. del Innocente de la Guardia*, fol. 60, misquoted at second hand by Naudé, p. 528 (Yepes does not say, as Naudé asserts, that the head was destroyed by order of King John II); cf. Feijóo, *l. c.*

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to be explained away or disproved, and the new talking heads are either recognized impostures or scientific curiosities. In the former class is the bronze head shown to Don Quixote (part 2, ch. 62), which operated by means of a speaking-tube; the Don, however, whose famous library had doubtless contained the Spanish translation of *Valentine and Orson*, thought it magical. Cervantes says that the head was made in imitation of one seen at Madrid, and his editor Pellicer tells of a similar artifice actually practiced by a sixteenth-century physician, and of an automatic talking doll exhibited at Madrid, presumably in his own time.[149] There is a talking head in the comedy *La devineresse, ou les faux enchantemens* (1680), according to van Dale.[150] To the scientific group belong the "Delphic oracle" of Athanasius Kircher, made in the seventeenth century to illustrate the frauds of pagan priests;[151] and the talking head made by Alexander Graham Bell in the course of his early experiments, which reproduced the sounds of the human voice by means of a mechanism modeled after the human speech organs.[152] Thus our Oracular Heads lead us out of the Middle Ages, into the modern world with its new conception of the universe and its new methods for conquering the forces which lie outside of ourselves.

To return to our proper sphere, what may be said in gen-

[149] J. A. Pellicer, ed. *Don Quijote*, Madrid, 1799, pt. II, vol. VIII, pp. 183 ff.

[150] *De oraculis*, Amstelodami, 1700, p. 218.

[151] Kircher, *Phonurgia*, lib. 1, cap. 6, quoted by van Dale, *o. c.*, p. 225, and *De origine ac progressu idololatriae*, p. 669. — Here also, probably, belongs the talking statue said to have welcomed Queen Christina to Rome in 1665 (Meyer, *Gerbertsagnet*, p. 88). Several other modern devices of this kind are mentioned by Held, *Das Gespenst des Golem*, p. 116.

[152] *The Bell Telephone: The Deposition of A. G. Bell*, Boston, 1908, p. 208.

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eral regarding the Oracular Heads of the Middle Ages? That they always seem to involve the revelation of unknown facts, and at first in misleading form; that they show throughout a connection with astrology; that their diabolical character, which they share with the idols of old, sometimes came to be ignored with the passage of time; that nearly all the stories seem to have been transmitted orally for some time before they were recorded; that brass is the favorite material from about 1300 on; and that the fourteenth century was the time of their widest manufacture. In the fifteenth century, therefore, when our romance was written, Oracular Heads of brass were a part of current popular lore; and it was upon this popular lore that our author drew when he made of his Oracular Idol a Brazen Head.

In this chapter, as elsewhere, he has softened the cruder features of his originals, in accordance with the taste of the time. The hideous noises and whirlwinds of the conversion legend, the mocking demons and misleading prophecies of the earlier Oracular Head stories, have vanished. Our Brazen Head speaks the truth plainly, with quiet and dignity. Only in the statement that it was made by a Saracen by *art d'ingromance*, and in the conversion of the heroine which follows its silence, are we able to find yet a trace of its dark and diabolical ancestry.

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CHAPTER VI

VALENTIN ET ORSON: II

The end of ch. 23 supplies a convenient point of division in the story. Valentin and Orson have learned who they are, Bellissant has been vindicated, and all that remains is to reunite the scattered family. But instead of doing this at once, the author retards the dénouement, and adds new adventures, most of which have no counterpart in the source. This second half of the story contains a great deal which is mere commonplace and calls for no remark; but a few matters are of interest. We shall proceed, as heretofore, chapter by chapter.

24 In Esclarmonde's castle there is a dwarf named Pacolet, who has learned magic at Toledo. He has made a wooden horse, upon which he sails through the air at great speed, steering by means of a pin in the horse's head. Pacolet brings word to Ferragu of what has occurred; Ferragu pretends to be pleased. The thread under O's tongue is cut, and he relates his life in the forest. Esclarmonde has a disturbing dream. Ferragu arrives, and pretends to desire baptism; all set sail for his castle, where Bellissant is (6). But Ferragu has V and O bound, and on arrival at the castle throws them into a dungeon. He proposes to marry his sister to King Trompar; she feigns acquiescence.

Pacolet and the wooden horse are the most striking new features in this second half of the romance. That they are new — that is, that they did not appear in the source [1] — is pretty evident from the fact that they are used in

[1] G. Paris was mistaken on this point; see above, p. 6.

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one episode (ch. 25) which has a parallel in the VN text; and, as we have remarked already, they are entirely absent from VN as we have it.

The wooden horse is from *Cléomadès;* this was noted first, I think, by Tressan.[2] *Cléomadès* is also drawn upon for the name Trompar (Crompar in *Cléomadès*) and for the material of chs. 30, 38, and 61 (as remarked by Tressan, and by Seelmann, p. lv).[3] The name Pacolet (as pointed out by G. Paris)[4] is from Pecolet, a helpful, though Saracen, dwarf in *Enfances Vivien*, *Bataille Loquifer*, and *Renier*. Pecolet is, among other things, a swift runner, and it was this trait that suggested to our author the borrowing of the wooden horse from *Cléomadès;* for it is only in VO that the helpful dwarf and the wooden horse are brought together. "Pacolet's horse" is, thereafter, a proverbial equivalent for extraordinary speed; the allusions in French literature are numerous, from Rabelais to Mme. de Sévigné.[5] "Pacolet" is also a French common noun, denoting, in fishermen's jargon, a sort of pin, and owing its use obviously to the pin in the head of the flying horse.[6] In the Charlemagne puppet-plays at Liége, Pacolet and his horse continued to

[2] *Bibl. univ. des romans*, mai, 1777, p. 194.

[3] The numbering differs because of Seelmann's use of a later edition. Seelmann also, properly, takes P. Paris to task for his assertion (*Hist. litt.*, XX, 713) that VO is a "contrefaçon grossière" of *Cléomadès*; the remark can apply only to these chapters.

[4] *Romania*, XXVII (1898), 326. Runeberg (*Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart*, p. 108 n.) accepts the identification, but is mistaken in calling our romance "*Valentin und Namelôs*," and in thinking that there is a Pacolet in *Cléomadès*.

[5] Collected by V. Chauvin, "Pacolet et les mille et une nuits," *Wallonia*, VI (1898), 5 ff. For an indication that the flying horse is still "Pacolet's horse" to Frenchmen, see Carra de Vaux, *Les penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris, 1921 –, II, 192.

[6] G. Paris, *l. c.*

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play a part into the nineteenth century; and in the same neighborhood, "li pâcolet" is a small good-luck talisman, with however a shady reputation;[7] this is doubtless because of our Pacolet's ability to raise the devil (ch. 50). Allusions in other languages are fewer.[8]

Pacolet, from this point on, is an ally of Valentin, and an exceedingly useful one. Since he remains a pagan, there is nothing improper in his use of magic and treachery to further Valentin's interests; while the proprieties are saved by the fact that Valentin, though he condones and profits by Pacolet's doings, takes no active part in them, and after Pacolet's death expresses remorse and does penance for this and other sins. The situation is a degenerate development from the beneficent magic of Maugis and Auberon, and, as far as regards the use of magic, it is paralleled in other late romances: Pecolet in *Bataille Loquifer*, Malabron in *Huon de Bordeaux*, Grymbert and Tabardin in *Renier*, Perdigon in *Garin de Monglane* and *Geste de Monglane*, the *folletto* in *Viaggio di Carlo Magno*, are all, like Pacolet, subsidiary characters who employ their magical powers for the benefit of more respectable principals. But none of these characters descends to the depths of treachery attained by Pacolet in chs. 29 and 45 of our romance, passages which are an instructive example of the decay of moral standards in the romances of the late Middle Ages.[9]

The learning of magic at Toledo is frequent in the ro-

[7] J. Lesuisse, in *Wallonia*, II (1894), 153 ff.; Chauvin, *l. c.*

[8] For the allusions by Sidney and Steele, see Appendix II. There is a German allusion, contemporary with Sidney: *Zimmerische Chronik* (ed. K. A. Barack, Stuttgart, 1869, *BLVS*, XCI), I, 279.

[9] It was chiefly for their use of magic that the romances were attacked by the serious writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; cf. the interesting material gathered by J. Schwering, *ZDP*, LI (1926), 106 ff.

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mances,[10] but here is probably imitated from *Maugis d'Aigremont* (2536), since Pacolet's doings in general are modeled to some extent on those of Maugis (cf. ch. 29). Esclarmonde's dream follows familiar precedents.[11]

25 Pacolet, by the use of his sleeping and door-opening charms, reunites V and O with their mother. With Esclarmonde, they set sail for Esclarmonde's castle, and there embark again for Constantinople to see their father. Ferragu pursues them as far as the castle; finding them gone, he vows vengeance on all Christians. — VN, episode 19.

The resemblance to episode 19 in VN is only general: instead of fighting the giant as in VN, the brothers deliver their mother by the aid of Pacolet's charms, which are inherited from his namesake Pecolet in *Bataille Loquifer* (sleeping charm, 3754 ff.; door-opening charm, 2452 ff.).[12]

26 V and O, with their mother and Pacolet, arrive at Acquitaine (21). O takes service with the Duke under the name of Richier[13]

[10] Castets, *Maugis*, p. 338; Comparetti, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, p. 320; H. Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1895, II, 138 n.; Gautier, *Epopées*, IV, 150, 157.

[11] Cf. R. Mentz, *Die Träume in den af. Karls- u. Artus-Epen*, Marburg, 1888 (*Ausgaben u. Abhandlungen*, LXXIII), pp. 20 ff., 39, 79 ff.

[12] The same useful combination of charms is possessed by the robber Grimoart in *Sibille* (above, p. 62), by Basin in *Jehan de Lanson* (J. Couraye du Parc, in *Mélanges Julien Havet*, Paris, 1895, p. 332), and by Perdigon in *Geste de Monglane* (Anal., p. 214). A sleeping-charm is used frequently by the enchanter Maugis in *Renaut de Montauban* (pp. 157, 165, 504, 636, 667); there is another in *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 5739, as well as a door-opening charm, 7935; VO clearly borrows from *Renaut* in ch. 29. It is a sleeping-draught, not a charm, that Pecolet uses in *Enfances Vivien*, 4854 ff. (On sleeping-draughts, cf. p. 67.) Other sleeping-charms in romance: *Charles le Chauve*, Rubke, p. 55; *Bauduin de Sebourc*, XIII, 259; Malory, *Morte Darthur*, XII, 4. For folk-lore parallels, cf. G. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, Frankfort, 1913, I, 257.

[13] *Richief* in the text; the name occurs only once; obviously a misprint.

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(apparently he is not recognized because he can now speak). Ferragu, having gathered an army, besieges the city. In a battle, the Duke is taken prisoner, but is rescued by O and Pacolet, with the aid of the sleeping-charm. V, taken prisoner in turn, is rescued by O, Pacolet, and the Duke. Ferragu, unsuccessful in the battle, retires.

27 O, under his false name, pays court to Fezonne, but finds the lady faithful to her lover O. V and O then make themselves known, and O and Fezonne are married.

There is no explanation of why the party, having started for Constantinople, arrives at Acquitaine instead. Service under a false name is common;[14] the name Richier indicates that perhaps the suggestion came from *Floovant* (pp. 67 ff.), where Floovant serves King Flore incognito, and his attendant Richier marries the king's daughter. Our author combines this motive with another equally common, Reunion of Lovers, or Returning Husband.[15]

28 V, with Pacolet, goes on the wooden horse to Constantinople, where the siege (22) is still in progress. Here he makes himself known to the Emperor and Pepin, and gives news of his mother. In a battle, V and the Green Knight (22) are taken by the Saracens.

29 Pacolet, using the sleeping-charm, delivers them. He also carries Soudan Moradin into Constantinople on the wooden horse, having pretended to be the bearer of a message of love from the wife of Ferragu. The Soudan is hanged, and Pacolet returns on the horse to Acquitaine. — VN, episode 16.

Pacolet's stratagem is, I think, original. It is suggested by the scene in *Renaut de Montauban* (pp. 667 ff.), in which the enchanter Maugis by the use of his sleeping-charm carries the sleeping Emperor into the castle of Montauban;

[14] Boje, *Beuve de Hamtone*, pp. 75, 85; E. Neumann, *Der Söldner im Mittelalter*, Marburg, 1905, p. 46.

[15] Boje, p. 104. — Fezonne quotes a proverb, in justifying her loyalty: *car on dist souuent que la chose qui plaist est a demy vendue;* Morawski, *Proverbes français*, no. 392.

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closer imitations of this procedure are in chs. 30, 31, and 55.[16] But Charlemagne is respectfully treated by the sons of Aymon, and allowed to go free, while our Soudan is hanged without mercy. The stirring dramatic quality of the original situation is of course lost.

Names of pagan warriors are freely mentioned in the battles here and in other parts of the romance. They are nearly always recognizable variants of similar names elsewhere; the Maragon and Arcillon, for example, of ch. 28, are Margon and Archillion of *Enfances Vivien*.

30 King Trompar and the enchanter Adramain join the forces of Ferragu, again encamped before Acquitaine. Trompar is to have Esclarmonde if she can be captured. Adramain enters the city, and tells Pacolet that he has left the service of Trompar. The two entertain the company with magic illusions: Adramain causes a river to issue from a pillar, so that all lift their garments and cry out in fear; Pacolet causes a hart to run through the river, pursued by hunters and hounds. At night, Adramain puts all into a magic sleep, and forces Esclarmonde (still sleeping) to accompany him on the wooden horse to Trompar's tent.

This passage has the distinction of having been quoted by Scott, in a note to the *Border Minstrelsy*, apropos of the illusions created by medieval magicians.[17] The source is twofold: the illusions themselves — the river issuing from a pillar, and the hunt — are from *Enfances Guillaume*, 1872 d ff., 1960 *var.* ff.;[18] while the idea of a contest (here a friendly

[16] Imitated also in *Jehan de Lanson* (Anal., p. 269).

[17] Note on "Christie's Will" (*Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. T. F. Henderson, Edinburgh and London, 1902, IV, 74 ff.). Later remarks on the subject are by Skeat (note on *Canterbury Tales*, F 1143), and Bolte and Polívka (*Anmerkungen*, III, 203 ff.).

[18] In some other versions of the magic river illusion, a point not evident in VO is made prominent: namely, that it is a good joke on the spectators when the magician makes them lift their garments to avoid getting them wet in an imaginary river. Bolte and Polívka

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one) between two magicians is suggested by the contest of Maugis and Noiron, *Maugis d'Aigremont*, 7903 ff.[19] Adramain is a slightly altered form of Abd-ar-Rahman, the name of several Caliphs, which the *chansons* transform variously into Desramé, Mambrien, Braimant, Dromadain, etc.[20] It is noteworthy that the VO form, closest of these to the original, has not been recorded elsewhere in French, but appears in *Reali di Francia* (Adrimon, Adramans, I, 40, III, 18 ff.); another of the links which our romance enables us to forge between the Italian epic and its French models. On the sleeping-charm, and transportation during magic sleep, cf. chs. 25 and 28.

30 (continued): Trompar carries off Esclarmonde on the wooden horse. She awakes, and swoons for sorrow. Alarmed, he alights, revives her by throwing water on her face, and gives her bread. He attempts to kiss her, but she *luy bailla du poing sur les dens*. They continue their journey; but Trompar does not know how to manage the horse, and reaches Inde la Major instead of his own country. The King of Inde recognizes Trompar as his brother's slayer, and has him beheaded. He then offers to make Esclarmonde queen, but she obtains a year's delay on the ground of a pretended vow of chastity. — VN, episode 17.

In VN, Rosemund, Namelos' wife, was abducted in an episode missing in the romance as we have it, and which we called episode 17 (above, p. 138). VO transfers the adventure to Esclarmonde, and turns it into a close imitation

(*l. c.*) count our passage among examples of this jest, but it is not clear that our author had the jest in mind at all. Bolte and Polívka add that the incident was taken over from VO by the interpolator of edition B of the *Faustbuch* of 1587.

[19] Imitated (says Couraye du Parc, *Mélanges Havet*, p. 345) in the contest of Basin and Malaquin in *Jehan de Lanson* (Anal., p. 263; *Geste de Liége*, 17667 ff.; pointed out as a parallel by Scelmann, p. lvi).

[20] Gautier, *Epopées*, III, 32; Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, IV, 392 ff.; the name Adramain has not hitherto appeared on this list.

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of the episode in *Cléomadès* (5545 ff.) in which Crompart carries off Clarmondine (cf. remarks on ch. 24). The few alterations made are necessitated by the demands of the story, or by the desire to keep it going. Thus, Esclarmonde is brought to Inde in order that Valentin may have adventures in the Orient, and Trompar is killed instead of dying in prison in order that more wars may be fought.

31 Pacolet, in Acquitaine, vows vengeance on Adramain. Disguised as a charming maiden, he goes to Adramain's tent. At night, he casts the Saracen host into a magic slumber, cuts off Adramain's head, and leads the sleeping Ferragu into the city. The Christian host issues out and slays the sleeping Saracens. Ferragu, refusing baptism, is beheaded. All then set out to relieve Constantinople (29).

Here we have an absurd combination of the Judith story with the now overworked sleeping-charm; I do not know any other place where the latter is used to annihilate an army. Pagan kings refusing baptism are slain in *Gui de Bourgogne*, p. 111; *Huon de Bordeaux*, p. 199; *Fierabras*, p. 181; *Gaufrey*, p. 74; and *Renier* (Anal., p. 73). Pacolet's reply when asked why he has not brought back Esclarmonde, *tout au premier coup de lache nest pas larbre abatu*, is a version of a familiar proverb.[21]

32 At Constantinople, in a fresh battle, V and the Green Knight are made prisoners, and released by Pacolet with the aid of the sleeping-charm. Pacolet also arranges a simultaneous attack from within and from without the city. In the battle, all but twenty-three of the Saracens are killed. General reunion, forgiveness, and rejoicing. Only Esclarmonde is missing; V learns of her abduction by Trompar (30). — VN, episodes 16, 21.

The resemblance to VN is again only general: episode 16 tells of the war against the Saracens in which the brothers

[21] Morawski, *Proverbes français*, no. 189; Le Roux de Lincy, *Livre des proverbes français*, Paris, 1859, I, 58; *Bauduin de Sebourc*, V, 666; *Athis et Prophilias*, 3445.

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aid their father, and episode 21 is the final reunion. The closing events of *Floovant* (pp. 70 ff.) seem to have supplied a model here:

Clovis, Floovant's father, is besieged by the Saracens at Laon. Floovant and Richier hasten thither with an army. Richier, who, like Pacolet, can speak the Saracen language, penetrates the besieging host, enters the city, and arranges a simultaneous attack.

It may be noted that this point corresponds to the end of the märchen story, and that it is only the situation of Esclarmonde that prevents the VO story from ending here.

33 V and Pacolet set out to seek Esclarmonde; Pepin and O return to France, where O is made constable of the realm, and the king's bodyguard. These honors excite the envy of Hauffroy and Henry (17), who concoct a plot with their nephews, Florent and Guernier. Guernier, who is guard of Pepin's chamber, is to kill the king and to accuse O of the murder. But Guernier becomes frightened and, instead of killing Pepin, leaves a knife in the king's bed. O meanwhile has a symbolical bad dream. He is accused by Guernier of plotting the king's murder; the knife serves as proof.

34 O demands the right of combat, and fights with Florent and Guernier, killing the former and wounding the latter, who is then killed by Hauffroy lest he reveal the plot. — VN, episode 13.

The author here adapts an adventure of Phila in VN: the false accusation of murder brought against the exiled queen. From the source are retained the knife as proof of guilt, and the warning dream. The other details are mostly borrowed from the opening events of *Aye d'Avignon* (pp. 1–23):

Garnier (whence Guernier), Charlemagne's seneschal and gonfalonier, and guardian of his bedchamber, is, as the result of a plot, accused by Amauguin, nephew of the traitor Bérenger, of conspiring against the emperor's life. He proves his innocence by overcoming Amauguin in single combat.

Minor similarities — aside from commonplaces of the judicial combat — are: (1) Garnier is quoted as having

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said that the emperor's son is too weak to stand in his way (p. 9), and the traitors in VO give one another a similar assurance; (2) interruption of the combat, attempted in *Aye* (p. 20), is promised in VO, and actually accomplished when Hauffroy interferes to kill Guernier; (3) in both, the hero cuts off the villain's left ear in the course of the combat, and it is remarked that the disfigurement will be thereafter a source of shame (*Aye*, p. 19).

Gui de Nanteuil (pp. 7–38) has an episode of the same general kind, and may have given the name Florent (Floriant, *Gui*, p. 20), and suggested Milon d'Angler (Milez d'Aiglent, *Gui*) and Samson as the names of hostages (*Gui*, p. 13). Our author is of course responsible for giving nephews to Hauffroy and Henry, and for the judicial combat of one man against two.[22]

35 V and Pacolet arrive at Antioch. Their host discovers that they are Christians, and they are brought before the king. V must either renounce his faith, or fight a hideous serpent which for seven years has terrorized the city; the king, on his part, agrees to be baptized if the serpent is slain. V, with Pacolet's help, kills the serpent.

Dragon-fights are innumerable,[23] but the religious element here suggests as a source the St. George legend. St. George makes the same sort of bargain with the Libyans:

Tantummodo in Christum credite et unusquisque vestrum baptizetur et draconem istum occidam (*Legenda Aurea*, p. 261).

A minor resemblance is that the Libyan dragon must be given to eat daily a man and a sheep (*ibid.*, p. 260); in VO, it is either a man or an animal.

[22] The latter trait is however in *Sone de Nansay*, 6131 ff.

[23] On the dragon-slayer in legend, cf. Günter, *Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, p. 116.

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36 King and people of Antioch embrace Christianity. Queen Rozemonde declares her love to V; V replies that he must visit the Holy Sepulchre, but will marry her on his return if her husband is dead. She accordingly puts poison into the king's cup, but when the king makes the sign of the cross over the cup, he perceives the poison. By threatening to make her drink from the cup, he extorts a confession; she blames V, then sends him a warning message. He leaves the city with Pacolet; pursuit is fruitless.

This chapter is a curious and characteristic medley. First, we have the Joseph-Potiphar's wife situation, and here the Eastern scene suggests as a possible source *Gilles de Chin*, pp. 99 ff.:

Gilles, accomplishing feats of prowess in the Orient, is wooed by the Christian Queen of Jerusalem (a married woman), but is loyal to his first love.

Valentin's reply to the queen seems to be a reminiscence of *Boeve de Haumtone*, 2817 ff.:

Boeve vanquishes the enemies of the Queen of Civile (a maiden), who therefore wishes to marry him. He tells her that he is searching for his wife Josiane, but that if he cannot find her within seven years, he will marry the queen; she agrees.

The name Rozemonde was found by our author in VN, but the two characters do not correspond: the VN Rosemund is in VO Fezonne, Orson's first wife (ch. 27). The VO Rozemonde clearly owes something to the famous Queen Rosemunda of the Lombards, of whom Paulus Diaconus, followed by many others, relates that she caused the death of her husband Alboin, and later poisoned her accomplice Helmichis; he, perceiving himself to be poisoned, forced her to drink the remainder of the potion, and thus both perished (*Hist. Langobard.*, II, 28 ff.). Finally, the sign of the cross over the poisoned cup is from the life of St. Benedict of Nursia (Gregory, *Dialogues*, II, 3; *Legenda Aurea*, p. 205).

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In the legend, the cup breaks, but this obviously would not fit in with the king's threat to make Rozemonde drink the remainder of the potion;[24] hence the author leaves us in doubt as to just how the king became aware that the cup was poisoned.[25]

37 Brandiffer, Rozemonde's father, lord of Falizee, makes war on the King of Antioch because he has forsaken his religion; the city is taken, the King slain, and Rozemonde sent home. Returning, Brandiffer is forced by a storm to land in Greece near the city of Cretophe (*var.* Crethophe). The Emperor and the Green Knight happen to be in the city; issuing out unaware, they are taken captive by Brandiffer, who, however, unable to take the city, and alarmed by news of warlike preparations of the Greeks, retreats to his Chastel Fort. Here the captives are placed in a dungeon. In the same castle are Brandiffer's daughters, Rozemonde and Galasie; the latter has been wooed in vain by fourteen kings.

Cretophe is apparently Christopolis, the Cristople of Henri de Valenciennes, continuator of Villehardouin and historian of the Latin Emperor Henry of Flanders. According to this historian, Emperor Henry was denied admission to Christopolis by the Lombards, who held it (*Hist. de l'empereur Henri*, ch. 14); and later, the Lombards of Christopolis took captive by surprise four of the Emperor's men (*ibid.*,

[24] Neither would the drinking of the potion, rendered harmless by the sign of the cross, as in the apocryphal Acts of John (R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, Braunschweig, 1883–84, I, 426, 428 ff., 479 ff., 484 ff.).

[25] This deficiency is supplied by some of the later versions, which state that the liquid became cloudy; *e. g.*, the French text of Troyes, 1726 (?). In *The Seven Champions of Christendom*, an English romance of the sixteenth century, St. George, after killing the dragon, is offered a poisoned cup, but is warned by the change of color of a magic stone (J. E. Matzke, *PMLA*, XIX, 1904, p. 458); the incident was perhaps suggested by VO rather than by the passage in the George legend to which Matzke refers it (*ibid.*, p. 466), cf. p. 287 below.

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ch. 24). Perhaps these events are distantly imitated here. The other new names are, as usual, slightly altered forms of common Saracen names in the *chansons*. Brandiffer is from Bondifer or Bondiffer, a horse in *Octavian* (4180) and in *Florence de Rome* (I, 52), but a Saracen king in *Gadifer* (Runeberg, *Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart*, p. 101), *Godin* (Anal., p. 53), and *Histoire de Charles Martel* (P. Meyer, *Girart de Roussillon*, p. cxcix). Falizee recalls Falise in *Bauduin de Sebourc*. Galasie's name and doings will be discussed under ch. 62. Brandiffer's religious war on the King of Antioch has parallels in *Tristan de Nanteuil* (*Hist. litt.*, XXVI, 233) and *Bauduin de Sebourc* (XIII, 496 ff.); there is perhaps a reminiscence of the situation in ch. 37 of the prose *Guillaume d'Orange*, in which King Desramé hears of the flight and conversion of his daughter Orable (Anal., p. 42).

38 Esclarmonde's year of grace (30) is now at an end; she feigns madness. V and Pacolet reach Esclardie, the land of King Trompar (30), and learn that Trompar is dead, and that his son Lucar intends to avenge his death and to marry Rozemonde.

Esclarmonde's feigned madness continues the borrowing from *Cléomadès* begun in ch. 30; the parallel passage is 7671–7825. Esclardie is the Esclaudie or Esclandie of *Roland* and other *chansons;* Lucar is the Lucaire of *Ogier* and *Saisnes*.

There begins here a long episode in which Valentin serves under pagan kings in their wars against one another; general parallels to the situation are in *Mainet*, *Huon de Bordeaux*, *Aye d'Avignon*, *Spagna*, and elsewhere; but there is little resemblance in detail to any of these. Nowhere else, certainly, does a Christian hero accept command of an expedition against his countrymen, as Valentin does in ch. 44: one of the least happy of our author's inventions.

39 The pagan kings arrive at Esclardie, and Rozemonde marries Lucar, unwillingly. V rescues a lady from a Saracen, whom he kills. The Saracen was King Lucar's marshal. V is taken before

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Lucar; on Rozemonde's intercession, his life is spared, but he is given a message of defiance to carry to the King of Inde.

Valentin's adventure with the Saracen is an Arthurian commonplace, like the adventures in ch. 19; cf. *Vengeance Raguidel*, 3362 ff., which agrees in some details — the hero's companion tries to dissuade him, the lady's father has been killed, the lady offers her love to her rescuer.

40 Rozemonde sends for V secretly. She tells him that no messenger has ever returned from Inde; but gives him a ring which the King of Inde has given her, and also a message to the king, to the effect that she will accompany Lucar into Inde, so that the king may carry her off.

Arriving at the city of Inde, V passes through five gates, and sees the tower of St. Thomas, where the saint was stoned to death, and where his body is buried; a patriarch and a hundred Christians are suffered to celebrate mass daily in the church, and pilgrims to visit it, in consideration of a great tribute. V adores the relics of the saint.

41 V delivers both his messages to the King of Inde, and takes back one of defiance to Lucar.

The passage has a certain interest, as the only account in romance of the Indian shrine of St. Thomas. Gregory of Tours, in the sixth century, had told of the monastery, the church, and the pilgrims (*Libri miraculorum*, I, 32); Marco Polo, in the thirteenth, had mentioned the church and the pilgrims, and was the first to assert that the saint was buried there, in contradiction to the usual tradition of Edessa as the place of his burial[26] (Marco Polo, III, 18). English kings sent alms to St. Thomas in India, in 883 and in the following century;[27] pilgrimages are alluded to in

[26] *E. g.*, *Legenda Aurea*, p. 39; cf. W. R. Philipps, "The Connection of St. Thomas the Apostle with India," *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII (1903), 151. A fourteenth-century traveler, Conti, agrees with Marco Polo on this point (Sir H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, II, 358).

[27] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. Plummer, I, 79; William of Malmesbury, *De gest. pont. Angl.*, II, 80.

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Chevalerie Ogier, I, 34, Caesarius of Heisterbach (*Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. Strange, II, 131), and *Zimmerische Chronik* (ed. Barack, I, 287); and actual visits of Roman ecclesiastics are recorded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[28]

Our author may perhaps have read Gregory of Tours or Marco Polo, but it is more probable that he simply knew of the shrine of St. Thomas as a place of pilgrimage, and imagined such details as he did not borrow from the account in *Bauduin de Sebourc* (XI, 611 ff.) of the church of St. John in Bagdad. The latter is evidently the source for the hundred Christians (612) and the tribute (613). It may even have been the fact that the priest in *Bauduin* is "Maistre Thumas" (669) that suggested the whole scene. I have found no authority for the five gates, the tower, or St. Thomas' death by stoning.

42 Lucar, Brandiffer, V and Pacolet, with a great army, invade Inde. During a battle, the King of Inde carries off Rozemonde, a willing captive. But Pacolet makes the king see a river and a forest before him, so that he sets the lady down, and V helps her to make her peace with Lucar.

Girart and Guibert in *Siège de Barbastre* (2048 ff., 5723 ff.), Florent in *Octavian* (2554 ff.), and Berart in *Gaufrey* (pp. 200 ff.), make similar unsuccessful attempts, in the course of a battle, to carry off a willing lady from the enemy's camp. The illusory river hindering flight is in none of these, but in *Huon de Bordeaux* (p. 98).

43 Rozemonde, next day, rides off and joins the King of Inde, who marries her;[29] their son was Rabaste (*var.* Rabastre), who ruled Jerusalem, but was conquered by Renyer Montabay, *qui son*

[28] Some of this material is gathered by A. E. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas*, London, 1905, pp. 71 ff.

[29] Presumably he despairs of Esclarmonde's recovery (30, 38), but no mention is made of this.

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frere a nostre foy fut conuerty, with the daughter of Rabaste, who was named Atibar.

News comes to Brandiffer that Pepin and O, because of the imprisonment of the Emperor and the Green Knight (37), have invaded Brandiffer's territory, and are besieging his city of Angorie. V is sent to the King of Inde with an offer of peace if he will restore Rozemonde; the king refuses.

The words quoted are emended by later editions (*e. g.*, Troyes, 1726?) to read *fit convertir* for the meaningless *fut conuerty*. Accepting the emendation, we have the following account:

Rabaste, son of Rozemonde and the King of Inde, ruled Jerusalem, but was conquered by Renyer Montabay, who caused Rabaste's brother and daughter Atibar to be converted.

Renyer Montabay is of course Renaut de Montauban, and Rabaste is Robastre, a pagan king of Jerusalem who is conquered and killed by Renaut in the fifteenth-century *chanson* described by Castets, *Quatre Fils Aymon*, pp. 180 ff. The information in VO about Robastre's ancestry, and his brother and daughter, does not appear to be in the poem, which merely states (according to Castets) that all the pagans were baptized (p. 223), and calls Robastre's daughter Esglentine (p. 222). Perhaps there was another version of this *chanson*, but more probably the details in question are the result of our author's invention. The name Angorie is probably also from this poem, in which the siege and capture of Angorie are related at great length (pp. 223–38); it is also found in the prose *Huon de Bordeaux* (Anal., p. 52), and the prose *Charlemagne et Anseïs* of MS. Bibl. de l'Arsenal B. L. F. 214 b (Gautier, *Epopées*, III, 432), where it replaces the Agenni of Turpin's chronicle, cap. ix. In all these places, as in VO, Angorie is a Saracen city taken by the Christians.

44 V and King Murgalent are chosen to lead the pagan host against Angorie, while Brandiffer and Lucar remain before Inde.

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Arrived at the city, Pacolet is despatched as messenger to the besieged; he is stopped by the Christian guards, and taken before O,
45 whom he acquaints with his plans. He then continues into the city, and gives Amiral Bruhans his message from V and Murgalent: Bruhans is to make a sally on the following day. The same night, Pacolet (without V's knowledge) puts to sleep the relieving army, which is then wiped out by the Christians; next morning the besieged, sallying according to agreement, are defeated, and the city is taken, all the Saracens being slain without mercy.

On Pacolet's treachery, cf. the remarks on ch. 25. The author is careful to make it plain that Valentin is innocent of any complicity; but he does not explain how Valentin regarded his own position as leader of an army against his own people, or what he proposed to do about it if Pacolet had not so neatly solved the problem.

Two Christian warriors are mentioned in connection with the battle: Robert of Normandy, who is a prominent figure in the Crusade epics; and Girard of Paris, whom I cannot identify, unless he be the Girard, a knight born at Paris, of *Girbert de Metz*, 499 ff.

46 V and Pacolet return to Brandiffer and Lucar with tidings of the disaster. The King of Inde makes a sortie, and V and Pacolet take him prisoner.

The pagan kings are playing chess when the bad news arrives; a favorite pastime on such occasions.[30]

47 V learns for the first time of the captivity of the Emperor and the Green Knight in Brandiffer's Chastel Fort (37), and resolves

[30] Examples from *Saisnes*, *Covenant Vivien*, *Garin le Loherain*, and *Aye d'Avignon*, are collected by F. Strohmeyer, "Das Schachspiel im Af.", Tobler *Festschrift*, Halle, 1895, p. 389; to these may be added: Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Langobard.*, I, 20 (Grimm, *Deutsche Sagen*, no. 395; P. Herrmann, *Die Heldensagen des Saxo Grammaticus*, Leipzig, 1922, p. 474); *Chevalerie Ogier*, I, 105; *Enfances Guillaume* (Gautier, *Epopées*, IV, 297); *Guy of Warwick*, Auch. 2281, 7138; *Lancelot*, II, 125.

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to leave the service of the pagan kings, but first to have revenge upon Brandiffer. Accordingly, Pacolet, using the sleeping-charm, and pretending to be Mahomet, releases the King of Inde, and leads him, with Brandiffer, into the city of Inde. The king is greeted by Rozemonde, to whom he explains the occurrence. V and Pacolet then go to join the French at Angorie (45).

In *Gilles de Trasignies*, a prose romance of about 1450,[31] pp. 38 ff., Gilles releases the Soudan of Babiloine and is taken for Mahomet, and the Soudan relates the occurrence to his daughter; perhaps this VO chapter was suggested by this episode in *Gilles*.

48 Meanwhile Pepin, in response to a vision, sets out from Angorie on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem with O and the Twelve Peers.[32] Hauffroy and Henry (33) plot treason; Henry goes with Pepin, while Hauffroy, left in command at Angorie, proceeds to Inde. Here peace has been made through the good offices of the Caliphe of Bandas, and all the pagans are now ready to assail Angorie.

Pepin's pilgrimage is of course suggested by Charlemagne's (*Pèlerinage*); but beyond the fact that both Pepin and Charlemagne go to Jerusalem with the Twelve Peers, there is no similarity here to any account of Charlemagne's pilgrimage. The striking difference is that Pepin and his companions go incognito to a Jerusalem which is definitely said to be in the hands of the Saracens.

49 Hauffroy betrays the situation of Pepin, asking in return the hand of Galasie (37), and renouncing Christianity. His proposal is agreed to, and Brandiffer gives him a letter to take to Galasie at the Chastel Fort.

50 Hauffroy presents the letter, and is thrown into the dungeon where are the Emperor and the Green Knight (37). V and Pacolet

[31] A. Bayot, *Le roman de Gillion de Trazegnies*, Louvain and Paris, 1903 (Univ. de Louvain, *Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des conférences d'hist. et de philol.*, XII), p. 15.

[32] The Peers are not named; but see ch. 66.

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arrive before the Chastel Fort; a devil, conjured by Pacolet, informs them that the castle can be taken only by treachery. They proceed to Angorie.

Brandiffer here adopts the well-known device by which David got rid of Uriah (*II Reg.*, XI, 14 ff.). The motive is in *Bueve de Hantone* (Boje, p. 79), and is noted by Boje only in VO, in *Florent et Octavian* which imitates *Bueve*, and in *Marques de Rome;* Boje observes that its occurrence in the Bible serves to make it a commonplace.[33] But Uriah is killed, whereas Bueve, Octavian and Hauffroy are merely imprisoned; each of these three also receives the letter from the father of the lady whom he wishes to marry; hence the source for VO is *Bueve* or *Florent*, not the Bible. The devil is raised by Perdigon in *Garin de Monglane*, version N (Rudolph, p. 36), a poem already used by our author,[34] and by Roland in the prose *Spagna* (Gautier, *Epopées*, III, 461); in both places the purpose is, as in VO, to ask for information.

51 Pepin and the Peers reach Jerusalem, and visit the holy places under the guidance of the Patriarch. But the three pagan kings, acting on Hauffroy's information, proceed thither, and inform the King of Surie of the situation. The pilgrims are brought before the king; Millon d'Angler pretends to be Pepin; the King of Inde takes the real Pepin to serve him as a dwarf, while the others are given to Brandiffer to be imprisoned.

[33] There is a Uriah-letter in *Roman de Silence*, p. 90; there was another in the lost *chanson*, *Vengeance Rioul* (G. Paris, *Romania*, XVII, 1888, pp. 276 ff.); and there is still another in the Dutch prose *Malegijs* (p. 42), in an episode borrowed from *Bueve*. For occurrences elsewhere, cf. Aarne, *Der reiche Mann und sein Schwiegersohn*, pp. 64, 91; Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, III, 277 ff. The Uriah-letter story is of course to be distinguished (cf. Matzke, in *MP*, X, 1912, p. 20, and Cosquin, *Etudes folkloriques*, p. 161) from the *Glückskind* story, in which the letter is altered en route, and which we have discussed above, p. 32.

[34] Cf. above, p. 181.

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The holy places and the Patriarch are from the usual account of Charlemagne's pilgrimage. For the imprisonment of the Peers, probably both *Fierabras*[35] (pp. 52 ff.) and *Gaufrey* (pp. 184 ff.) have supplied suggestions; in the former there is the circumstance of the concealed identity (p. 59), while in *Gaufrey*, as in VO, there are already two important characters in prison when the Peers arrive (cf. ch. 37); further parallels will be noted under ch. 62. Pepin's service as a dwarf is doubtless an original use by the romancer of Pepin's short stature; its purpose is that, through Pepin's presence at Inde, Valentin may learn tidings of Esclarmonde, whom he has been seeking (since ch. 33).[36]

52 Pepin cooks for the King of Inde, so successfully as to arouse the envy of the kitchen personnel. They attack him as he is about to put a peacock on the spit; he kills the chief cook and a boy, but is pardoned after relating the circumstances.

53 Pepin is given food to carry to Esclarmonde (38); mutual recognition.

Ch. 52 is in the main a repetition of Orson's kitchen adventure, ch. 14; but the peacock and spit are from the well-known incident in the *Mainet* story, in which the young Charles, forced to serve Heudri and Rainfroi at table, throws a peacock into Rainfroi's face, and attacks him with the spit.[37] When our author, in ch. 64, gives his version of the *Mainet* story, the peacock is omitted, having already done service here.

54 The prisoners (51) arrive at the Chastel Fort, and are given into the care of Galasie (37); her prisoners now include the Emperor,

[35] Noted by Seelmann, p. lvi.

[36] Pepin is made prisoner also in Jean d'Outremeuse (cf. above, p. 183), but the circumstances are quite different.

[37] *Mainet*, pp. 308, 320; Girard d'Amiens, *Charlemagne* (Anal., Paris, p. 472, Gautier, p. 43); *Gran Conquista* (Gautier, *Epopées*, III, 35); *Karl Mainet*, p. 31.

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the Green knight, O, Hauffroy, Henry, and the Twelve Peers. The pagan kings gather at Falizee for the siege of Angorie (48), only the King of Inde being absent because of the illness of Rozemonde, who died shortly thereafter.

55 Brandiffer and Lucar besiege Angorie, within which are V and Pacolet (50). The latter, using the sleeping-charm (for the last time), brings Lucar into the city. Lucar, on awaking, kills Pacolet, and is imprisoned. V copies out Pacolet's charms.

Valentin, although now in possession of the charms, does not use them; he does, however, regain and use the wooden horse, ch. 61.

56 Brandiffer announces to V his capture of Pepin and the Peers, and offers to exchange one of them for Lucar; Pepin is asked for.

57 Millon d'Angler is accordingly (51) released.

58 Battle at Angorie, resulting in the rout of the pagans with the loss of all but a hundred men; the Marshal of Inde is captured,

59 and exchanged for the real Pepin, who brings V tidings of Esclarmonde.

60 News comes that King Artus of Bretagne has invaded France, intending to be king, to marry Berte, and to exile Charlot; also that *Guillaume de Mongliue a fait Garin tuer*. Pepin and Millon go back to France; V will try to deliver the prisoners of the Chastel Fort.

Arthur's invasion of France is well attested, from Geoffrey of Monmouth down; but it need hardly be said that nowhere else is Pepin his adversary. This addition to Arthurian story becomes extremely interesting in the next chapter. The words italicized are an allusion to the story of Garin le Loherain. Guillaume de Monclin was one of those who put Garin to death (*Mort Garin*, pp. 219, 239), and this was in the days of Pepin. As usual, our author's account is peculiar, and probably original.

61 V, disguised as a physician, goes to Inde, where he advertises his power of curing insanity. He is sent for by the king to cure Esclarmonde, makes himself known to her, and the two ride

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off together by night on the wooden horse, arriving at Angorie. — VN, episode 22.

This passage corresponds to a missing episode of VN (cf. remarks on ch. 30 above), and concludes the borrowing from *Cléomadès*, which is divided among chs. 30, 38, and 61; the parallel passage is *Cléomadès*, 12407–13552.

61 (continued): Artus (60), having heard of the capture of Pepin and the Peers at Jerusalem, had concluded that they were dead. He had made an alliance with the comte de Monfort, the duc de Berry, the comte de Nemours, and the comte d'Armignat, and had invaded France. Queen Berte and Charlot have taken refuge at Lyon, while seven counts and three dukes besiege Angers, held by the comte d'Anjou, who is loyal to Pepin. At this point Pepin returns, and gathers an army of *Picqars, Henaulx, Brabansons et Normans*. Hearing of Pepin's return and preparations, Artus' allies determine to make their peace. They seize Artus in his bed at night, and deliver him up to Pepin, who has him beheaded in the Châtelet at Paris, and takes from the allies their lands and possessions, *ainsi que plus a plain appert aux croniques sur ce faictes et composees*.

Invasion or usurpation during a king's absence, repelled on his return, is a commonplace, and is connected with Charlemagne in *Aquin*, the prose *Spagna* (Gautier, *Epopées*, III, 426, 461), and the *Viaggio di Carlo Magno* (II, 57 ff.). The loyalty of the count of Anjou, if not a pure invention, is probably a trait from the *Charlemagne* of Girard d'Amiens;[38] and other details, such as the siege of Angers, are doubtless original. But the chapter also contains evident references (not hitherto noted) to striking personalities and events of the years 1465–75.

The Duke of Berry, the Duke (not Count) of Nemours, and the Count of Armagnac, were prominent among the nobles who took up arms against Louis XI in the War of the Public Weal, 1465. Armagnac and Nemours continued

[38] Anal., Paris, p. 472; Gautier, p. 42.

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to war and intrigue against the king during the years which followed, until the former was killed in a brawl (1473) and the latter beheaded (1477).[39] The "conte de Monfort" is probably Nicolas de Montfort, Count of Campobasso, a Burgundian partisan, "homme de tres mauvaise foy et tres perilleux," according to Commines (*Mémoires*, IV, 1). Artus himself is compounded of King Edward IV of England, who in 1475 invaded France with a large army — the largest English army on the Continent "despuis le roy Arthus," says Commines (IV, 11) — and the constable Louis de Luxembourg, Count of St.-Pol, who was betrayed by his ally Charles the Bold, handed over to Louis XI, and beheaded at Paris in the same year, before an immense multitude.[40] Somewhat like Artus in the romance, St.-Pol was said to have proposed that, after the King had been put out of the way, the Queen and the Dauphin should be exiled.[41]

If it be recalled that our romance was printed in 1489, it will be clear, I think, that allusions to these persons and events must have been intended by the author and understood by the readers; and also that the romance as we have it must have been composed between 1475 and 1489.[42]

62 V, disguised as a merchant, goes to the Chastel Fort with twelve ships laden with goods and two thousand men. Under pretense of paying tribute, he entices on board fifty Saracens, who

[39] E. Lavisse, *Histoire de France illustrée*, Paris, 1911, IV, ii 343 ff., 368, 380; Commines, *Mémoires*, I, 2–14, and in the edition of B. de Mandrot, Paris, 1901–03, Vol. I, notes on pp. 20, 21, 257, 399; P. Champion, *Louis XI*, Paris, 1927, II, 61 ff., 131 ff., 275.

[40] Lavisse, *o. c.*, pp. 377 ff.; Commines, IV, 12; *Journal de Jean de Roye* (ed. Mandrot, Paris, 1894), I, 349 ff.; Basin, *Histoire des règnes de Charles VII et de Louis XI* (ed. J. Quicherat, Paris, 1856), II, 370 ff.; Champion, *Louis XI*, II, 146 ff., 163 ff.

[41] Nicolai, *Kalendrier des guerres de Tournai*, in *Mém. de la soc. hist. de Tournai*, II (1853), 16.

[42] For further discussion of date, see remarks on ch. 66.

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are slain by his men. Fifty of V's men then approach the castle in the clothing of the dead Saracens, and the porter, under threat of death, admits them, as well as all the others. All the Saracens, except Galasie, are slain, and the prisoners freed. *En celuy temps sacointa Orson de lamour de Galasie*, for he knew not whether his wife Fezonne was alive or dead; however, he married Galasie later, after the death of Fezonne, and had by her a son Orsaire, who ruled the empire of Constantinople. — VN, episode 20.

All is confusion here, a collection of débris which the author has not taken the pains to make consistent. First, as to the taking of the castle. This is accomplished by two means — disguise, and the treason of the porter; either alone would have been sufficient; each makes the other unnecessary. The author had before him two versions of an episode of *Galien*, and, unable to choose, concocted a story combining the best features of each:

Galien, poetical text, p. 270. — Gumarde, niece of Baligant, holds the castle of Monfusain. Galien *disguises* five thousand men as Saracens, and thus gains admission. Charles follows; the castle is surrendered, and Gumarde is converted and married to Galien.

Galien, prose text, pp. 251 ff.[43] — The pagan Mauprin, *under threat of death*, agrees to deliver to Galien the *Fort Chastel* of Monsurain. This castle is the strongest in all Spain, and can be taken only by treason (cf. VO, ch. 50) or the "science de quelque art." Mauprin, who is known at the castle, *obtains admission for sixty* of Galien's men, who put the garrison to the sword; Galien is to marry Guymande. *The main body* of Galien's men, who had been left in ambush in a wood, come in later to combat a Saracen attack from the city.

But the relations of Orson and Galasie indicate that the author had in mind still a third method by which the castle might have been taken. If Orson and Galasie are in love, obviously Galasie, for the love of Orson, should have released the prisoners herself, as many a Saracen lady had

[43] I follow the print of 1500, from which the MSS. differ only in minor details.

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done before her in similar case. As it is, with the prisoners already freed, Orson's faithlessness to his wife is left without an excuse. A type-story here is *Fierabras* (VBW),[44] pp. 53 ff.:

Five peers of France are taken in battle; they conceal their identity, and are imprisoned. Floripas, the amirant's daughter, releases them, for the love of Gui de Bourgogne. Seven other peers, including Gui, are taken captive; they are given into the custody of Floripas, and join the rest. The twelve, with Floripas' assistance, attack the Saracens, and the battle, siege, and relief by Charlemagne compose the remainder of the story; Floripas marries Gui.

As in *Fierabras* and in VO, so in *Gaufrey* (B), the prisoners include the Peers of France (only eleven however); they have been captured, too, while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem (cf. VO, ch. 51), and the dungeon into which they are thrown already contains Garin de Monglane and Doon de Maience, just as the VO prisoners began with the Emperor and the Green Knight (ch. 37); so that *Gaufrey* is evidently a source here, as well as *Fierabras*.[45]

[44] I indicate, by the letters in parentheses, that the story has been discussed in one or other of the following places:

V = C. Voretzsch, *Epische Studien, I*, Halle, 1900, p. 189 ff.

B = C. Boje, *Über Beuve de Hamtone*, Halle, 1909, pp. 95, 129.

W = F. M. Warren, "The Enamoured Moslem Princess in Orderic Vital and the French Epic," *PMLA*, XXIX (1914), 341 ff.

Fierabras as a parallel to VO was pointed out by Seelmann, p. lvi.

[45] Other stories of this type, with slighter resemblance to VO, are: *Prise d'Orange* (VBW), *Prise de Cordres* (B), *Guibert d'Andrenas* (2018 ff.), *Huon de Bordeaux* (V), *Simon de Pouille, Elie de St. Gilles* (W), *Lion de Bourges* (two episodes, B, p. 95), *Enfances Garin* (B). I add in the sequel references to:

P = G. Paris, "Le mari aux deux femmes" (*Poésie du moyen âge, 2e série*, Paris, 1895, pp. 109 ff.).

M = J. E. Matzke, "The Source and Composition of Ille et Galeron," *MP*, IV (1906–07), 471 ff.

M[1] = *idem*, "The Lay of Eliduc and the Legend of the Husband with Two Wives," *ibid.*, V (1907–08), 211 ff.

M[2] = *idem*, "The Oldest Form of the Beves Legend," *ibid.*, X (1912–13), 19 ff.

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Sometimes the prisoner released by a Saracen maiden has, like Orson, a wife or a sweetheart somewhere else. The closest parallel is *Huon et Callisse*, pp. 40 ff.:

Huon is imprisoned, with ten of his countrymen, by King Gorhans. The latter's daughter, Callisse, offers to release them if Huon will grant her his love. He hesitates out of loyalty to Esclarmonde, but eventually,

> *A soy meïsmes dit, que la belle enmerra*
> *Et se l'epousera, s'Esclarmonde ne ra;*
> *Car bien pense a son coeur: jamais ne le verra.*

So the two flee together (the other prisoners having meanwhile been killed). Later, Huon is told by Auberon that he must keep his faith with Esclarmonde.[46]

Huon et Callisse has evidently given to our episode the name of its heroine, and has suggested Orson's uncertainty as to his wife.

Through the complication of a second woman in this latter group of stories, they are related to another group, the Man with Two Wives, in which, though there is no release from prison, there are a wife or sweetheart left behind, and another woman abroad whom the hero either marries or is about to marry.[47] Since these stories interest us only for their resolution of the matrimonial tangle, let us anticipate some-

[46] On this episode see Wilhelmi, *Lion de Bourges*, pp. 10 ff., and Rubke, *Charles le Chauve*, pp. 52 ff. Other members of this group are *Floovant* (VB) (cf. E. Stricker, *Entstehung u. Entwicklung der Floovant-Sage*, Halle, 1909, pp. 114 ff., 129 ff.), *Bovo d'Antona* (M^2), *Gilles de Trasignies* (P), *Graf von Gleichen* (P).

[47] Stories answering this description are: *Tristan* (M^1); *Eliduc* (PM); *Ille et Galeron* (M); *Parzival 1*, story of Gahmuret, Belakane, and Herzeloyde; *2*, story of Feirefiz, Sekundill, and Repanse de Schoie; *Bueve de Hantone* (MB); *Horn* (M); *Bauduin de Sebourc*, cantos 12–17; *Florent et Octavian*, Anal., pp. 322 ff. In *Fraisne* and *Galeran* (M^1B) the hero does not go abroad.

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what and note all that is told in the sequel regarding Fezonne and Galasie:

(68) Before starting back home, Orson tells Galasie that he knows she is with child by him, but that he cannot marry her because he has another wife, and offers to settle an income upon her. She replies that she will cross the seas with him and enter *quelque religion* where she will pray for them both. She accompanies him to Constantinople, and nothing more is said of her until,

(70) Fezonne learns (it is not told how) of the relations of Orson and Galasie, whereupon she conceives such chagrin (*couroux*) that she takes to her bed and dies. Orson is sorry, but weds Galasie within a year.

It is clear that in this portion of the episode, as in the portion already discussed, we have to do with no well-planned and consistent story, but with a series of random reminiscences and remarks. It is clear also that the author is careless of the serious damage he has done to the character of his hero (as we noted in another connection, ch. 45). His only aim is to dispose, by fair means or foul, of two women who have ceased to interest him. His solution — the first wife dies — is paralleled only in *Parzival 2*, but this is a mere coincidence of course. Galasie's proposal to enter a cloister has more parallels: in *Eliduc* and *Ille*, the first woman enters a cloister; in *Galeran*, the second; in *Gilles*, all three parties do so; while the step is proposed, but not executed, by the second woman (Lenburc) in *Horn*.[48] Any of these may have supplied the suggestion.

Noting the author's difficulties with Galasie, one may ask why she was introduced at all. Her excuse for existence is that there was someone like her in the source, VN:

[48] The other solutions are: the hero dies — *Tristan*, *Parzival 1;* the first woman marries another — *Floovant*, *Florent;* the second woman dies — *Huon et Callisse*, *Bauduin;* the second woman marries another — *Bovo*, *Lion*, *Bueve*, *Horn*, *Fraisne*, VN? (p. 141 above); no solution (all three live together) — *Graf von Gleichen*.

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second woman with whom Namelos was brought into contact in an episode (20) which has disappeared in the abbreviation of the texts and the loss of the Dutch version.[49] Whatever the exact nature of this lost episode, it formed the starting-point of the Galasie episode in VO, which (to sum up) is developed through hints from *Galien*, *Fierabras*, *Gaufrey*, *Huon et Callisse*, and the Man with Two Wives stories, carelessly thrown together.[50]

The last bit of random information in this chapter is that about Emperor Orsaire; he is found again in *Loher und Maller*, but of course with a different genealogy.

63 Of the released prisoners, the Emperor, O, and the Green Knight remain to hold the Chastel Fort; the Peers go to Angorie with V; and Hauffroy and Henry return to France. Here they announce that V, O, and the Peers have been slain, and proceed to poison first Berte (with the aid of a treacherous damsel), then Pepin.

64 Millon d'Angler now desires to make little Charles king, but Hauffroy and Henry by bribery cause the barons to decide that Charles is too young. Millon is imprisoned in the Chasteau de Paris (called Chastellet below), and Charles is made a kitchen-boy in the palace. One day Hauffroy commands him to turn a spit, but Charles with the spit fells him to the earth, and gives Henry a box on the ear. A knight named David Delloys (d'Elloys?), a former tutor of Charles, intervenes, leads the boy away, and carries him out of Paris and into a foreign country. The two are pursued in vain, for the pursuers are unwilling to find them.

Millon writes a letter to his wife, Charles' sister, acquainting her with what is going on; she writes to V and the Peers. V, on the wooden horse, goes from Angorie to Paris, releases all the prisoners at the Châtelet, and takes Millon first to his own castle, where he greets his wife, and thence to Angorie. V intends to give battle to Brandiffer, who has come to besiege the city, and then to

[49] Cf. p. 139.

[50] The labor of separating this confused episode into its elements will not have been in vain if, as is hoped, the material gathered in the notes proves to be of value.

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return to France with Millon and the Peers to confound the traitors and succour Charles.

From the poisoning of Berte down to the escape of Charles, the author appears to follow the *Charlemagne* of Girard d'Amiens, but with a number of changes. Many of Girard's incidents are omitted, and the narrative is reduced to a mere synopsis. Millon's imprisonment is made to precede, instead of following, the spit incident, in which also Girard's peacock is lacking (cf. ch. 52). The following details do not seem to be in Girard or in any other version of the story:[51] the treacherous damsel who aids in poisoning Berte; the use of bribery by Hauffroy and Henry to get the coronation postponed; the place of Millon's incarceration; the locale of the spit incident (which apparently is in the kitchen, not at table); Charles' attack upon *both* his half-brothers; the name David Delloys or d'Elloys for the usual David; David's intervention in the spit scene; and the unwilling pursuit. We may, if we choose, with Seelmann (p. liv), believe that the author used some lost source which was much like Girard; but he was quite capable of making all these changes himself. The letters of Millon and his unnamed wife are doubtless suggested by the letters of David to Charles' friends in Girard (*Hist. poét.*, p. 473).

Valentin's expedition to Paris and back has a parallel in the *Viaggio di Carlo Magno* (II, 58): a *folletto* offers to transport Charles from Spain to Paris, where his presence is needed to frustrate an intended usurpation, provided he will agree not to pronounce the name of God; Charles

[51] The versions are described in Paris, *Hist. poétique*, pp. 471 ff.; Gautier, *Epopées*, III, 30 ff.; P. Riebe, *Über die verschiedenen Fassungen der Mainetsage nebst Textprobe aus Girart's von Amiens 'Charlemagne,'* Greifswald, 1906; W. Granzow, *Die Ogier Episode im 'C.' des G. d'A. nebst vollständigem Namenverzeichnis der gesamten Dichtung*, Greifswald, 1908. None of these mentions VO.

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agrees, and on reaching Paris exclaims "Thank God" and is let fall, but not very far. It must be in reminiscence of a story like this — perhaps in a French prototype of the *Viaggio* — that Valentin warns Millon not to speak while on the horse; the warning in VO is without point and without sequel.

65 Hearing of the siege of Angorie, the Emperor, O, and the Green Knight set out from the Chastel Fort with a thousand men to aid their friends. On the way, they repulse the attack of a Saracen fleet, and put on the armor of the slain Saracens, so as not to be recognized as Christians by any other Saracens whom they may encounter.

66 The Christians at Angorie issue forth to do battle; their leaders are:

millon dangler, . . . Sanson dorleans, . . . Geruaiz son filz le conte de vuandomme, . . . le conte de champaigne . . . Quentin de normendie . . . Le duc de bourgongne . . . Le conte de dampmartin . . . Le conte dausseure . . . Le mareschal de constantinoble. Et Valentin.

The Saracen leaders are:

le roy Brandiffer le Roy desclardie. Le roy dinde. Le roy de saleure. Ladmiral de cordes. Ladmiral dorbie. Le roy damene. le roy dubias. Josue de palerne. Le conte braiment. Le duc orchillant et croste dorcaine.[52]

The Christians are forced to give way, but are aided by two knights, Millon de Dijon and Regnier de Prouvence, who are on their way home from the Holy Sepulchre after suffering great adversities in prison and otherwise; one of them has with him Claradine, the daughter of a pagan admiral, and [has?] caused her to be baptized. Word is brought V of the arrival of Saracen reënforcements; but these are really the Emperor and his men (65).

67 V kills his father the Emperor, believing him to be a Saracen. He laments, and is comforted by the others. Millon de Dijon and Regnier de Prouvence are taken by the pagans; but God will

[52] Others mentioned are *le roy crofle, le roy vrayement,* and *le roy rubras;* but these are probably the same as Croste, Braiment, and Dubias.

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deliver them, and they will restore Charles to his throne. Lucar and Brandiffer are slain, and the pagans are finally discomfited and put to flight.

Since the author nowhere lists his Twelve Peers, the names of the Christian commanders in ch. 66 are perhaps worth examination. Only four of them occur elsewhere in the romance. Valentin and Millon are of course prominent characters; but Millon, Samson, and Gervais do duty whenever the author wishes to fill in his background with the names of people at Pepin's court or in his army. Of the six passages of this nature in addition to the present (in chs. 10, 13, 15, 32, 34, and 50), Millon and Samson appear in all six, Gervais in five, and the only other persons are the Duchess of Bourbon (Orson's godmother, ch. 13), the Archbishop of Rheims (ch. 15), and "Galeran" (ch. 34).

For Millon and Samson, there was good authority; Millon is a familiar Carolingian figure, and Samson is a Peer already in *Roland*.[53] But this Sanson d'Orléans does not seem to be the well-known Peer, who is called Sanson de Bourgogne if he is given any surname. He appears to be rather a creation of late romance. There is a Sanses d'Orliens, a very minor figure, in *Aimeri de Narbonne;* a Sanse or Sause d'Orlins, with a son Ernoy, in Jean d'Outremeuse (III, 34, 121);[54] and a Samson duc d'Orléans, who marries the half-sister of Robert the Devil, in the *Croniques de Normandie;*[55] these are the only mentions that I have found. Samson's banner with its bear of silver (ch. 32), and his brother (ch. 10) or son (ch. 66) Gervais, seem to be inventions of our

[53] As usual, statements concerning names for which no authority is given may be verified from Langlois' *Table*.

[54] The Index (VII, 460) adds that he was uncle of Ogier le Danois; I do not know on what authority.

[55] *Miracle de Robert-le-Diable*, Rouen, 1836, p. 160, quoting the edition of Rouen, 1558; I have been unable to consult an edition of the *Croniques*.

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author, as also Gervais' title, Count of Vendôme. But a Count of Vendôme fought in the First Crusade,[56] and is mentioned in *Antioche* and *Jerusalem;* and we have seen the author elsewhere borrowing names and bits of action from Crusade history and fiction.[57]

Other names which seem to be from the *chansons* are the Count of Champagne (from Girard d'Amiens),[58] the Duke of Burgundy (mentioned in many *chansons*), and the Count of Dammartin (*Hugues Capet; Moniage Guillaume*, 3737). Quentin of Normandy is apparently the same as Auquetin le Normand, cousin of Duke Richard, in *Chevalerie Ogier* and *Enfances Ogier;* he becomes, in the Franco-Italian *Aquilon de Bavière*, Aquintin or Quintin de Normandie, Richard's father;[59] the similarity of the name points perhaps again to common sources for VO and the Italian epic.

It may seem a possibility that the names Vendôme and Dammartin were introduced in order to compliment the living noblemen who bore those titles: Antoine de Chabannes, count of Dammartin, governor of Paris under Charles VIII,[60] and the young François de Bourbon, count of Vendôme, who also stood high in the graces of that monarch.[61] Could we be sure that such was the intention, we could date the composition of our romance after the accession of Charles VIII in 1483; for Dammartin and the previous count of Vendôme had been out of favor with Louis XI.[62] Un-

[56] Abbé Simon, *Histoire de Vendôme*, Vendôme, 1834, I, 91; M. J. de Pétigny, *Hist. archéologique du Vendômois*, Vendôme-Blois, 1882, pp. 412 ff.

[57] Above, chs. 37, 45.

[58] Paris, *Hist. poétique*, p. 477.

[59] Pp. 557, 562, 563. There is a Hausquetins li Normans also in Girard d'Amiens (Granzow, p. 43).

[60] Commines, ed. Mandrot, I, 24 n.

[61] Pétigny, *o. c.*, pp. 570 ff.

[62] Mandrot, *l. c.;* Pétigny, *l. c.*

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fortunately, the text places Dammartin between Burgundy and Auxerre, titles which had been last possessed (before their union with the crown) by Charles the Bold, France's arch-enemy. It therefore seems most likely that no compliments were intended, but that the author set down his titles at random, just as he happened to recall them from his reading or from the current peerage.[63] What is noteworthy is that, apart from Millon, there is no prominent Carolingian figure in the list.

The names of the Saracen leaders require no comment; they are all current coin, more or less battered. But there is a word to say about the two knights from the Holy Sepulchre, Millon de Dijon and Regnier de Prouvence. They come from a favorite source of our author's,[64] the N version of *Garin de Monglane* (Olschenka, pp. 16 ff.):

Milon de Dijon was the son of Duke Garnier. He went *ou payz Juppin*, fought the Saracens, was imprisoned, and was set free by the lady Claradunne (cf. Claradine, VO), together with *cellui de Vallestre*, his cousin. Then they found Mainet son of Peppin, and went back with him to France, where they did battle with Hanffroy and Heudri, to the discomfiture of these traitors.

[63] There being no other indication of the date of VO, we are forced therefore to be content with the result attained in ch. 61 above, according to which our romance was written some time between 1475 and 1489. Ward (*Catalogue of Romances*, I, 850) says that it is "reported to have been composed for Charles VIII"; this statement seems to rest on Dunlop's (*Hist. of Prose Fiction*, ed. H. Wilson, London, 1888, I, 345 n.), that it was "written during the reign of Charles VIII," which in turn seems to have no basis other than the date of publication. Seelmann (p. xxv) said that the sources used indicated the last third of the fifteenth century, but did not amplify the statement. As noted by G. Paris (*Romania*, VII, 1878, p. 458), Holland and Birch-Hirschfeld were mistaken in seeing a possible allusion to VO in the line, *Ni de Faqelini ni d'Orson*, of the twelfth-century troubadour Guiraut de Cabreira.

[64] Cf. above, chs. 15, 50.

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Our author has borrowed all of this history, merely adding a new episode, and giving the cousin a name; if indeed the name Regnier does not come from some other version of the story.[65]

Valentin's combat with his father repeats one of the oldest situations of fiction;[66] but the tragic outcome is unusual.[67] Apparently the author had decided on the ending of the story, with Valentin's seven years' penance, and found it necessary to have him commit some crime heinous enough to warrant that severe expiation.

68 Millon and the Peers start back for France, but V will not again use the wooden horse; such arts are damnable, and he thinks it is because of his sin in using them that he has killed his father. The Green Knight is crowned King of Angorie. V and O go to

[65] In version N, among those who fight in the battle are

. . . *Milles et Regnniers le pere Renaudin* (p. 17).

Perhaps, then, *cellui de Vallestre* is Regnier. It is noteworthy, too, that in *Gaydon*, where Milon is mentioned in one place as the son of Duke Garnier of Dijon, there are also a Milon and a Renier who are frequently mentioned together, and who fight on the side of the "sons" while Garnier fights on that of the "fathers," pp. 165 ff. The situation is similar in *Aimeri de Narbonne*, where there is a Milon, son of Duke Garnier, and another Milon, or perhaps the same, mentioned in a list with Renier. These Milon-Renier pairs are no doubt suggested by Milon de Pouille and Renier de Gennes (cf. Langlois' note). I think it likely that there is another in Girard d'Amiens (Riebe, p. 44), where, according to the printed text, a pagan king *nous occist Mainet et son frere Regnier*. " Mainet" of course is nonsense; the reading must be "Milon" or "Millon." The only other mention of Milon de Dijon is in the rhymed *Roland;* here there is no Renier.

[66] K. Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*[2], Halle, 1925, pp. clx ff.

[67] Apart from *Roman de Thèbes* and the various imitations of the Œdipus story, it is found in medieval literature only in *Tristan de Nanteuil* (Anal., p. 96) and *Seghelijn van Jerusalem* (Anal., p. 130), and the circumstances are not sufficiently alike to suggest any relation.

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Constantinople, and rule jointly in the place of their father. (For Orson and Galasie, see remarks on ch. 62.)

The note of repentance is sounded, in preparation for the concluding episode; for the remaining chapters (69–74) deal with Valentin's penance and death. Maugis, whose magic gave some suggestions for that of Pacolet,[68] likewise does penance at the end of his days (*Renaut de Montauban*, pp. 671 ff.); and this penance of Maugis doubtless supplied the general hint for our final episode,[69] which however follows other models in its details.

One of these models was first pointed out by F. W. V. Schmidt,[70] who remarked that Valentin's penance was similar to that of Robert the Devil; and another by Breul,[71] who added that it was also similar to that of St. Alexius. That the parallelism to both stories extends beyond the single trait of the penance has not been noted. But the fact is that the entire episode is pieced together from the Alexius legend, the story of Robert the Devil, and the story of *Orson de Beauvais*, the relation of which latter to our romance has hitherto been misunderstood.[72] The artful man-

[68] Cf. above, pp. 220, 221.

[69] Perhaps our author knew the version of Maugis' last days given by one MS. of *Renaut* (B. N. 766) and called by Castets *La Mort de Maugis*, according to which Maugis went to Rome and confessed his sins to the Pope (*Maugis d'Aigremont*, pp. 281 ff.).

[70] *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, XXXI (1825), 138; cf. above, p. 142.

[71] *Sir Gowther*, p. 131.

[72] W. Foerster (*Richars li Biaus*, p. 154) mistakenly thought that the MS. of *Orson de Beauvais*, then unprinted, was a MS. of the verse original of VO. His error was corrected by Seelmann (p. lii). G. Paris, in his edition of *O. de B.* (p. ii), noted Foerster's error and its correction, but fell into the contrary error of declaring that "notre poème [*O. de B.*] n'a rien à faire avec le roman en question [VO]"; cf. above, p. 171. VO and *O. de B.* are also mentioned together by W. Benary, in *Romanische Forschungen*, XXXI (1912), 308, but not in any helpful manner.

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ner in which the three stories are combined can be best exhibited in a parallel-column analysis.

A word as to the versions used. Our author undoubtedly knew the Alexius legend in some form hitherto unprinted, for the printed French texts do not reach beyond the fourteenth century, whereas the legend continued to live and to take new forms. Much, on the other hand, has been published regarding the later Italian versions,[73] to which VO has interesting points of similarity, indicated in the analysis. Whether VO and the Italian versions have a common source, whether VO influenced the development of the legend in Italy, or whether the resemblances are due to chance, cannot be determined until more of the French texts are available. Meanwhile, lacking fifteenth-century texts, I have chosen as basis for comparison the four texts printed by G. Paris and L. Pannier (Paris, 1887), and known respectively as O, S, M, Q; and the text printed by J. Herz (Frankfurt, 1879), which I call H. Of these, our text naturally shows greatest resemblance to the later versions, H, Q, and M, in the order named.

For *Robert le Diable*, a comparison of five texts (the *Roman*, the *Dit*, the *Miracle*, Etienne de Bourbon, and *Croniques de Normandie*) makes it evident that VO is based upon the *Roman* (Ro); one or two phrases, perhaps chance echoes, are quoted from the *Dit*. *Orson de Beauvais* is referred to as Or. I quote VO from the first edition, expanding contractions and correcting misprints. The left-hand column is an analysis of the text of VO; the right-hand column

[73] R. Renier, "Qualche nota sulla diffusione della leggenda di Sant' Alessio in Italia," *Raccolta di studii critici dedicata ad A. d'Ancona*, Firenze, 1901, pp. 1 ff.; L. P. Baudana-Vaccolini, "Per la storia della legg. di S. A.," *Bullettino della Soc. Filol. Romana*, IX (1906), 31 ff.; Bolte and Polívka, *Anmerkungen*, III, 461; R. Altrocchi, "A New Version of the Legend of St. A.," *MP*, XXII (1925), 337 ff.

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contains the parallels from *Alexius* (O, S, M, Q, H), *Robert* (Ro, *Dit*), and *Orson* (Or).

VO	Robert
69 One morning, Valentin	Robert
announces to his	
wife	mother
his intention to go to Rome and confess to the Pope his sins,	
including the slaying of his father,	
and to ask for penance (Ro 460–64).	
"saluez moy ma mere et mon frere Orson, and give Orson this letter at the end of fifteen days."	*me saluez mon pere* (*Dit* 93)

	Alexius
Valentin	Alexius
says to his wife:	
. . . mais me baillez laneau de quoy ie vous ay espousee.	*Car me montrez l'anel dont vous ai espousée.*
la dame tantost luy bailla et Il	*Celle en plourant li baile*[74] *et il . . .*
en fist deux parties. dont il en garda lune	*De l'anel fist deus pars, l'une en a prezentée*
et lautre la baillee a la dame	*A la gentil pucele, mez l'autre a bien gardée;*
en luy disant. Mamye gardez ceste partie	*Puis li dist: Douce seur, gardez bien la moitié*
de laneau	*De l'anel . . .* (Q 26–27 SMH)
et pour chose que on vous die de moy ne raporte	*Por cose qu'on vous puist prometre ne doner* (H 302)
nen croyez ung seul mot	*Ne ja mar creés home* (H 298)
se vous ne voyez lautre partye	*S'il ne puet cheste piere a la vostre soder* (H 300)
que ie porte auec moy.	*le vuel o moi porter* (H 297).[75]

[74] This trait — Alexius asks his wife for the wedding-ring which he has given her — is peculiar to version Q; cf. M. Rösler, *Die Fassungen der Alexius-Legende*, Wien and Leipzig, 1905, p. 45.

[75] The matter of these four lines is peculiar to version H, and to MS. P thereof.

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VO	ALEXIUS
gouuernez vous sagement *et tousiours seruez dieu* *et de faulces parolles vous gardez.* *Car le monde est au iour duy trop faulx et decepuant.*	Keep chastity *pense de Diu servir* (M 244 S) *Chis siecles est mout faus . . .* *Vils est et dechevables* (H 232–33)

ALEXIUS and ROBERT

They part in tears (SHRo).

	ROBERT
Valentin	Robert

mounts his horse (*Dit* 95),
and journeys to Rome (Ro 484–89).
He enters the

church	chapel

in which the Pope is singing mass. After hearing the mass, he falls at the feet of the Pope, and

asks for confession.	cries mercy (Ro 521–59).
The Pope leads him into a private chamber, and	The Pope

asks him, "Why do you weep?" (Ro 577–80).

	He replies,
Helas dist Valentin de tous aultres pecheurs je suis et me doy nommer le pire,	*De cest mont sui li plus pechieres* (Ro 583),

and confesses with tears. The Pope feels pity for him, and comforts him, telling him to

return	go to see a certain hermit

next day (Ro 581–674).
That night, he slept little, but wept and lamented his sins. In the morning, he went to the church, where

the Pope caused mass to be sung.	the hermit sang mass (Ro 764–800).

After mass,

the Pope	the hermit

called him, and said, "Hear your penance. First, (Ro 817–39)

	ALEXIUS
change your clothing, dress poorly, *et ton corps tant traueilleras*	*Tant a la car penee de son cors travillier* (H 392)

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VO	ALEXIUS
que de nul ne puisse estre cogneu, then go to Constantinople, and *soubz les degrez de ton palays te logeras,* and remain there	*Ja n'iert mais conëus* (H 395) Alexius lives under the stairs (so does Robert, Ro 1291 etc.)
sept ans sans parler . . .	ROBERT *Ne parlés* (Ro 863) [76]
et ne mengeras ne beueras fors du relief que on donne aux poures . . ."	ALEXIUS Alexius eats only *reliefs.* [77]
Valentin replies: *tout cela feray ie de bon cueur,*	ROBERT Robert *dist que tous bien les fera* (Ro 887),
	whereupon
the Pope	the hermit
	grants him absolution (Ro 886–913).
Valentin dines with the Pope (!), *ainsi que dit listoire;* then he leaves the city,	
70 shaves his head, enters a wood, and remains there so long, eating apples and roots, that	*tranche ses cheveus* (Ro 467)
de nul homme viuant neust este cogneu. Meanwhile, in Constantinople,	ALEXIUS (Cf. H 395, above) [78]

[76] The seven years' duration of the penance is mentioned here only in the *Croniques de Normandie* version; but in Ro, MS. A, Robert remains at Rome for seven years (cf. Löseth, p. xxii).

[77] Valentin's penance is thus (as remarked by Breul, *l. c.*) a combination of traits from *Alexius* (stairs, "reliefs") and *Robert* (silence).

[78] Valentin must of course, like Alexius, be unrecognizable because his penance is to be performed in his own palace.

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VO	ALEXIUS
pour luy fut grant dueil par la cite demenee.	*Grant duel en a en Rome . . . Quant il par la chitet l'ont tant cherchiet . . .* (H 369–70)
For Esclarmonde gave Orson the letter; it said that Valentin would not return. When Esclarmonde heard this,	
a terre elle cheut paumee et quant elle fut reuenue elle sescrya bien hault . . .	*a terre chiet pasmede* (O 85 H) *s'est en haut escriée* (Q 42)
Grief of Esclarmonde, Bellissant, and Orson.	Grief of Alexius' father, mother, and wife.
(Death of Fezonne and marriage of Orson and Galasie, cf. remarks on ch. 62.)	
Valentin	Alexius
arrives in	
Constantinople	Rome.
en si poure estat de son corps que de nul de ses amis ne pouoit estre cogneu.	*Ne nel puet reconoistre nus siens amis privés* (H 668).
He goes through the streets (O 43 SH),	
laumoisne querant.	*l'aumosne querant* (S 464 H).[79]
	ROBERT
Valentin	Robert
comes to the palace at meal-time. The attendants beat him, but he pays no attention.	
Orson	The emperor
bids them cease beating him (Ro 1030–56);	
	ALEXIUS
"for I wish all poor men to be received for the love of Valentin, that God may send me news of him."	Alexius asks and obtains shelter of his father for the love of Alexius (all versions) that God may bring him back safely (SMQH).

[79] This phrase is from another part of the story.

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VO	ROBERT
Valentin	Robert
is offered wine and meat, but he refuses to partake of them; instead, he	
helps himself to leavings from the basket.	snatches a bone from the dog (Ro 1057–1105).[80]
Everyone is amazed.	Everyone is amused (Ro 1140–44).
At night, the porters ask whether *"ce malostru qui le fol contrefait"* is to be allowed to remain. Orson replies,	*le fol contreferez* (*Dit* 141)
"Je veul que vous souffrez et endurez de luy	*Gardent que ne soit adesés* (Ro 1159)
et que parmy le palays	*Par le palais et par la vile* (Ro 1165)
le laissez a sa voulente faire	*Mais laist l'en aler et venir* (Ro 1163) (*Se gart que bien li fache totes ses volentés*, H 678)
for perhaps it is a vow or promise that he has made to God."	for he is a fool without any pretense (Ro 1166).
"Nobody can tell who he is" (Ro 1355).	
So Valentin remained under the stairs	(Alexius, Robert)
	The emperor commands that Robert be provided with
et fit son lit de la paille et estrain.	*estrain et paile* (Ro 1207).
	ALEXIUS
Next morning his brother, his mother, and his wife give him alms, and Esclarmonde promises him a blanket. But as soon as they have gone, he gives what	Alexius is spoken with under the stairs by his father, mother, and wife (SMQ).
	He gives his surplus alms (O 20

[80] The difference here results of course from the fact that the author has substituted for Robert's penance of eating only the food offered to the dogs, Alexius' custom of eating only the leavings.

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VO	ALEXIUS
he has received to two poor men, who mock him for his folly;	SHQ) and food (O 51 SMQ) to other poor men. When abused by the servants,
	he prays that they may be forgiven (OSMQ),
car ilz ne sceuent pas la faulte miserable parquoy ainsi viure me conuient.	*quer ne sevent que font* (O 54 S).
	ROBERT
At dinner, he is again offered food, but makes sign that he will eat only the leavings. Seeing this, Orson commands that the best food be placed in the basket.	Seeing that Robert will eat only the food given to the dogs, the emperor commands that bread and meat be thrown to the dogs, until Robert has enough (Ro 1115–39).
	ALEXIUS
en ce point	*En itel penitanche* (H 699)
fut Valentin	*Estuit sains Alexis* (H 700)
moult longuement	*Autres dis et set ans* (H 702)
dedens son palais	*En la maison son pere* (H 701)
sans estre cogneu,	*Qu'ainc ne pot reconoistre li vieus s'engenrēure* (H 703).
and everybody thought he was dead.	*N'est mie vis que tant a demouré* (S 822 MQ)

NOTE. — Chapters 71 and 72, which follow, parallel the remainder of *Robert* in a general way: just as Robert, remaining incognito, foils the plans of the treacherous seneschal who wishes to marry the emperor's daughter, so Valentin, remaining incognito, foils the plans of the treacherous Hugon who wishes to marry Esclarmonde. There is also some resemblance to Italian versions of the Alexius legend; *e.g.*, in the *Historia et Vita di Santo Alessio*, the devil, disguised as a beggar, gets possession of Alexius' ring and, returning to Rome, deceives the wife into believing her husband dead (Renier, *o. c.*, p. 7); the significance of this and other resemblances to the Italian versions being a matter upon which I do not here attempt to pronounce. But, whatever suggestions the author may have taken from his other sources, the source of ch. 71 is unmistakably *Orson de Beauvais*.

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VO	Orson
71 At that time there was a King of Hungary named	
Hugon,	
who, having heard that Valentin had left the country, asked Esclarmonde to be his wife. On her refusal, he	who loves Aceline, the wife of Orson,
proposes to Orson a pilgrimage to the Holy Land; Orson agrees.	
They go to Angorie, where the Green Knight (68) joins them. At Jerusalem,	On the way,
Hugon betrays Orson and the Green Knight	
into the hands of	
Rabaste King of Surie, brother of the King of Inde who was slain at Angorie;	Saracen merchants;
taking possession of	
their seals. Orson and the Green Knight are	Orson's ring. Orson is
cast into a dungeon. Hugon	
forges letters from Orson and the Green Knight,	returns to France,
saying that	
Valentin	Orson
has died at Jerusalem, and has desired his wife to remarry; also that they recommend that she	
marry Hugon (Or 17–326).	
The letters are delivered by Hugon's nephew, Galeran; Valentin is present.	
	Alexius and Robert
(He is always brought into the hall at meal-time; they feed him so well that he refuses any longer to eat the leavings, but often takes the food thrown to the dogs, and then they give to the dogs liberally.)	Ro 1115–39 (cf. above).

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VO	Alexius and Orson
On hearing the news of Valentin's death, *La belle esclarmonde ses habis derompit* *ses cheueulx tiroit . . .* *pourquoy ne vient la mort . . .* *Las amy Valentin pourquoy ne suis ie alee auec vous . . .*	(H 433, 943, 998) *Trait ses chevels* (O 87 M) *E mors, por coi te targes* (H 986) *. . . mout se repentoit* *C'avecquez son mari allée n'en estoit* (Q 38) *Par Dé, Charles, bau sire, pichié faites morteil,* *Quant vous nous volez fare an un lit ajoster* (Or 426–27)
Frere verd cheualier et vous empereur Orson Trop auez dur couraige que sy tost me voulez marier . . . *ne iamais en ma vie je ne requiers auoir liesse . . .* *Ne iamais en ma vie aultre mary nauray . . .*	*Ja mais ledice n'avrai* (O 99 S) *Que ja mais conpagnie n'ara d'autre marit* (H 463 OSMQOr)
	Orson
However, soon after Hugon's return, she consents to marry him.	Aceline is forced to marry Hugon (Or 540–46).
	Robert
72 Valentin prays the Virgin to defend Esclarmonde from the treason. An angel commands him to go out of the city, take the habit of a pilgrim, return, and expose the plot. Valentin thanks God, finds the pilgrim, takes his habit, and returns to the palace	Robert prays God to succour the emperor in the battle (Ro 1754–55). A knight in white armor commands him on God's behalf to fight for the emperor. Robert *rent grase al creator* (Ro 1819), takes the horse and armor provided, and enters the battle (Ro 1785–1866).
	Orson
	Orson and his companions return to France in pilgrim disguise (Or 2986 ff.) [81]

[81] The pilgrim disguise need not of course be from *Orson;* thirty-one examples are collected by Boje, *Beuve de Hamtone*, p. 70.

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VO	ALEXIUS
The supposed pilgrim announces that he has seen Valentin, who sends word that he will be there in three days.	(Alexius claims to have seen himself, in the Italian versions; announces his own approaching return, in at least one text, Altrocchi, *l. c.*, pp. 347, 349.)
	ROBERT
Hugon, hearing this,	The wicked seneschal, unmasked,

steals away and rides off (Ro 4525–46).

The pilgrim takes his leave. Galeran confesses the treason, and is hanged. Valentin	Robert, after the battle,

resumes his former clothing, and returns to his place under the stairs (Ro 2055–74).

	ALEXIUS
(Esclarmonde had caused a quilt to be brought for him, but he lay on the ground,	Alexius is offered a bed and sheet (a quilt and sheets, Q) but refuses them (M Q).
	ROBERT
among the dogs.)	*O les chiens* (Ro 1255).
73 The King of Surie releases Orson and the Green Knight, on their promise to cede to him Angorie, the Chastel Fort, and thirty other strong places; he also tells them of Hugon's treason. They return to Constantinople, where Orson begets on his wife Galasie a son Morant, who ruled Hungary. Orson	ORSON
	Charles

makes war on Hugon (Or 2504 ff.).

Hugon, vanquished in single combat by

the Green Knight, confesses his treason, and dies. Orson is made King of Hungary.	Milon, is hanged (Or 3426–3720).

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VO	ALEXIUS
74 After seven years, Valentin	After seventeen years, Alexius
fell ill, and	
moult se sentit affoibly,	*Li sains hons . . . sentoit son cors moult aflebis* (Q 139 S).
for which he gave thanks to God.	*Sa fins aproce, s'en loe Diu del ciel* (S 899).
He prays for forgiveness.	He commends himself to God (O 58).
An angel	A voice from heaven
announces that he will die in four days (H 738, 763).	
He calls for ink and paper (MQ),	
	and a pen (OSH), and
et tout lestat de sa vie escript.	*Tote sa vie escrist* (H 716 MQ).
Then he folded the half-ring within (Q 142), and held the letter in his hand.	
He sent for a priest, and	He
confessed (M 929), received the sacrament (MQ), and died.	
All the bells of the city began to ring (SMQH).	
Orson and all the barons descended,	*Viers le degret s'en corut a bandon,* *Et apries lui tot li autre baron* (M 1090–91).
and found the priest beside the holy body. "Why are the bells ringing?" asked Orson. *Syre dist le prestre ie croy que ce soit miracle que dieu veult monstrer pour cestuy sainct homme.*	The "sergent" who has waited on Alexius thinks that he is the holy man whom a voice from heaven has commanded them to seek.[82]
Orson replied:	
ie croy que cestuy soit sainct corps . . .	*Je croi bien que ce soit le saint cors que queron* (Q 163).
Then he	Alexius' father

[82] As in VO, so in the Italian versions, the voice from heaven is missing, and the people seek to find out why the bells are ringing (*e. g.*, Altrocchi, p. 349).

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VO	ALEXIUS
saw the letter in his hand, and	
la cuida prendre. Mais auoir ne la peult.	*la cuida prendre, mez ne la pout avoir* (Q 161).
Only	
Esclarmonde[83]	the Pope
can take the letter.	
The letter is opened.	
The half-ring is found within (SMQ), and the letter is read.	
trop auoit dur cueur qui adonc ne plouroit.	*Moult avoient dur cueur ceux qui la ne ploroient* (Q 186 OS)
Esclarmonde threw herself upon the body, in such grief that it seemed she must die.	*Deseure s'est pasmés* (H 954 OS) *Et maine tant grant duel por poi ne pert la vie* (H 952)
iay perdu ma ioye . . .	*ma joie est alee* (H 1097)
et mon confort	*u prendrai mais confort?* (H 967)
et ma seule esperance . . .	*m'esperanche est falie* (H 966)
que auiez vous en pensee	*dont te vint tel pensée* (Q 42)
quant sy pres de moy estes venu mourir	*Entre nos est ta vie povrement definee* (H 1021)
en pourete et en misere . . .	*A tel dolor et a si grant poverte* (O 84 S)
ie nai sceu . . . auiser . . .	*ne l'poi aviser* (O 79)
After the lamentations, the body is carried to	
the great church of Constantinople,	the church of St. Boniface.
en si grant compaignie	*Grant est la presse . . .*
que nul par les rues ne pouoit tourner;	*. . . nuls ne s'en volt torner* (O 104 S)
after which it is canonized, and placed in a shrine.	*el sarcou de marbre* (O 117 SH)
si monstra bien dieu quil estoit	*La li mostra bien Dieus qu'il*
bien digne destre sainct appele	*l'avoit forment cier* (H 1194)
car le iour de son trespassement	*. . . cele journée* (Q 194)
all sick people,	

[83] It is another feature of the Italian versions that the wife, not the Pope, takes the letter (*e. g.*, Renier, p. 7; Altrocchi, p. 351). This is true also of several German versions (cf. C. Joret, *La légende de S. A. en Allemagne*, Paris, 1881, pp. 7, 26).

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VO	ALEXIUS
de quelque maladie quilz fussent entachez,	*il n'out si grief malade* (Q 194)

who visited his body, were healed.

Esclarmonde becomes a nun, and abbess of an abbey founded in honor of St. Valentin. Galasie dies within seven years, after which Orson retires to a wood, eating only bread, roots, and small fruits. After seeing in a vision the joys of heaven and the pains of hell, he appoints the Green Knight guardian of his children, and takes up his abode permanently in the wood. He too was canonized after his death, and the Green Knight governed the children so well that they attained heavenly bliss.

The final lines bring the story to a close in keeping with the spirit of the last episode. Their probable sources are:

(1) *Renaut de Montauban.* — Just as the whole of the last episode seems to have been suggested by the penance of Maugis (cf. remarks on ch. 68), so the ends of Valentin and Orson parallel those of Renaut and Maugis respectively; for Renaut dies as a saint, and Maugis as a hermit.[84]

(2) *Gaydon* (p. 327) or *Lion de Bourges* (Zeddies, p. 29). — In each of these poems the hero, like Orson, becomes a hermit after the death of his wife.[85] But a source is hardly needed for such an obvious idea.

(3) *St. Patrick's Purgatory.* — The vision of heaven and hell is a recognized medieval genre.[86] As here, so also in

[84] Pp. 832, 881 ff. 1.

[85] Guillaume d'Orange, after the death of his wife Guibourc, retires first to a monastery, but becomes a hermit later (*Moniage Guillaume*). For retirement to a hermitage, cf. Heinzel, in *Wiener Berichte*, CXIX (1889), 80, 87; Runeberg, *Etudes sur la Geste Rainouart*, p. 155; Bruce, *Evolution*, I, 427. Some passages not collected by these writers are: *Guy of Warwick*, p. 612; *Charles le Chauve*, *Hist. litt.*, XXVI, 122; *Seghelijn van Jerusalem*, Anal., p. 130.

[86] Günter, *Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, pp. 111, 213 ff.; R. Verdeyen and J. Endepols, *Tondalus' Visioen en St. Patricius' Vagevuur*, Gent, 1914–17.

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the well-known stories of Drihthelm, Tundale, and St. Patrick's Purgatory, the vision is followed by reformation or retirement from the world. The *Purgatory* seems rather to be the source of Orson's meagerly reported vision, inasmuch as Orson sees sinners hanging by their tongues, and suspension by parts of the body is a feature of the *Purgatory* alone among the well-known versions of the theme.[87]

A summary of this long and varied discussion is difficult to make; perhaps one value of the discussion has been exactly in its heterogeneity, in its demonstration of the diversity of the materials which went to make up one late prose romance. Our study has shown that *Valentin et Orson* was composed between 1475 and 1489, and that it was based upon the lost fourteenth-century romance which has been called *Valentin et Sansnom*, and which is represented by the Dutch, Middle Low German, Middle High German, and Swedish *Valentin und Namelos*. The material of this older romance, however, was considerably rearranged and altered; and new materials were added from a wide variety of sources — not only from *chansons* and romances, but also from the Bible,[88] the saints' legends,[89] history,[90] and contemporary events.[91] Sometimes (as was to be expected) the attempt to include too much led to incongruities and improbabilities;[92] but frequently, too, the various ele-

[87] It is also, however, in the Apocalypse of Peter, and the visions of St. Paul and Alberic (E. J. Becker, *A Contribution to the Comparative Study of the Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell*, Baltimore, 1899, p. 35).

[88] Ch. 31.

[89] Chs. 35, 36, 69–74.

[90] Chs. 36, 37.

[91] Ch. 61.

[92] Chs. 44, 62.

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ments were combined with considerable ingenuity.[93] There are some unusual versions of old stories, which appear in the main to have little basis in earlier tradition;[94] and new stories are freely connected with familiar names.[95] Of special interest are our author's treatment of magic — leaving it under Saracen auspices,[96] but using it for the good cause — and the places where a parallel in Italian epic or legend suggests lost or unprinted French sources for the latter.[97] The Table which follows is an attempt to gather up the main results of the source study, so far as they concern *Valentin et Orson* specifically; of equal interest, perhaps, will be the materials collected here and there in illustration of the many familiar stories and motifs found in our romance, to which a guide is supplied in the Index.

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL SOURCES OF *VALENTIN ET ORSON*

(The word "probably" is in most cases to be understood.)

Chs. 1–34, 61, 62 — the lost French *Valentin et Sansnom*, represented by *Valentin und Namelos* (VN)

Ch. 1 — *Chroniques de France*

Chs. 2–4, 7–9, 17–19 — *Macaire*

Ch. 5 — *Lion de Bourges, Guillaume d'Angleterre, Belle Hélène de Constantinople, Orson de Beauvais*

[93] Chs. 5, 24, 36, 69–74.

[94] *Berte*, ch. 1; Pepin's war with the Frisians, ch. 16; *Mort Garin*, ch. 60; *Mainet*, chs. 63–64; Milon de Dijon, ch. 66.

[95] Pepin, *passim;* Hauffroy and Henry, chs. 14, 17, 33, 48; Savary, chs. 15 ff.; Arthur, ch. 61.

[96] Chs. 23, 24 etc., 29 etc. The only exceptions are Valentin's two uses of the wooden horse after Pacolet's death, chs. 61, 64.

[97] Chs. 30 (Adramain), 64 (*Viaggio di Carlo Magno*), 66 (*Aquilon de Bavière*), 69–74 (Alexius); cf. *Fioravante* and *Bovo* in Chs. III and IV.

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Ch. 10 — *Horn*
11 — *Floovant, Guy of Warwick*
13 — *Bueve de Hantone, Aliscans*
14 — *Aliscans*
15 — *Vœux du Paon, Garin de Monglane N*
16 — perhaps a lost *chanson* on Charlemagne's war with the Frisians, *Aliscans, Bueve de Hantone, Guy of Warwick*
Chs. 19–20 — *Bataille Loquifer*, Arthurian romance
Ch. 22 — *Tristan*
23 — *Lancelot, Perlesvaus*, a lost romanticised conversion legend, current popular lore
Chs. 24, 30, 38, 61 — *Cléomadès*
24, 25 — *Enfances Vivien, Bataille Loquifer*, or *Renier*
Ch. 26 — *Floovant*
Chs. 29, 30, 31, 55 — *Renaut de Montauban*
Ch. 30 — *Enfances Guillaume, Maugis d'Aigremont*
31 — *Judith*
32 — *Floovant*
Chs. 33–34 — *Aye d'Avignon*
Ch. 35 — St. George legend
36 — *Gilles de Chin, Boeve de Haumtone*, Paulus Diaconus, life of St. Benedict
37 — Henri de Valenciennes
40 — traditions of the shrine of St. Thomas in India, *Bauduin de Sebourc*
42 — *Octavian* or *Gaufrey, Huon de Bordeaux*
43 — *Renaut de Montauban*, fifteenth-century version
Ch. 47 — *Gilles de Trasignies*
48 — *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*
Chs. 49–50 — *Bueve de Hantone* or *Florent et Octavian, Garin de Monglane N*
Ch. 51 — *Fierabras, Gaufrey*
52 — *Mainet*

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Ch. 60 — *Mort Garin*
61 — events of the years 1465–75
62 — *Galien, Fierabras, Gaufrey, Huon et Callisse*
Chs. 63–64 — *Charlemagne* of Girard d'Amiens
Ch. 66 — *Garin de Monglane N*
Chs. 69–74 — *Renaut de Montauban, Robert le Diable,* St. Alexius legend, *Orson de Beauvais*
Ch. 74 — *Renaut de Montauban, St. Patrick's Purgatory*

ABBREVIATIONS

JEGP = *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
MLN = *Modern Language Notes*
MP = *Modern Philology*
PMLA = *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
VN = *Valentin und Namelos*
VO = *Valentin et Orson*
ZDP = *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*
ZFSL = *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*
ZRP = *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*

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EDITIONS AND ANALYSES QUOTED

(This list is intended to include all works of medieval fiction to which reference is made in the text and notes, and a few other medieval writings which have likewise been quoted by abbreviated title; all works not in this list have been fully described where first mentioned.)

Abbreviations:

AA	= *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der romanischen Philologie*
APF	= *Anciens poètes de la France*
Archiv	= *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*
BLVS	= *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*
CFMA	= *Classiques français du moyen âge*
EETS	= *Early English Text Society, Original Series*
EETSEx	= *Early English Text Society, Extra Series*
GRL	= *Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur*
SATF	= *Société des anciens textes français*
SCL	= *Scelta di curiosità letterarie*

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APPENDIX I

A. Specimen of *Valentin et Orson*, Lyon, 1489

The passage begins on folio b ii verso, and opens chapter 5.

Bellissant fut dedens la forez cheuauchant laquelle dame estoit grosse et enfanta dedens comme ia deuant vous a este mention faite. Or aduint que son corps eut termine et parfait . . .[1] contraignit la dame mal denfant sentir. si commenca a soy descendre et debriser sur son cheual en soy plaingnant tendrement. et blandimain luy demanda. ma dame que auez vous que tant vous plaingnez fort Helas blandimain dit la dame mettes le pie a terre si me descendes bas et me couches sur lerbe. Et penses daler dilligamment aulcune femme querir car le te[m]ps est venu que ie doy enfanter et ne puis plus attendre. blandimain descendit et mist la dame au pie dung hault arbre lequel il auisa et choisit pour mieulx recognoistre la place ou il la laissoit. puis monta a cheual et cheuauca tant fort quil peult pour auoir vne femme qui[2] la dame peult secourir. Et bellissant demoura seule et sans compaignie. fors que de dieu et de la vierge marie qui luy ayda et fist tant de secours que dedens la forez elle enfanta deux beaulx filz. Mais ne furent pas si tost venus sur terre que la dame souffrit dolente peine comme vous ores. Tout ausi tost que la dame eut les deux enfans de son ventre mis et produis au monde. et ainsi quelle estoit dessoubz larbre seule couchee vers elle vint vne grande ourse et velue a grant merueilles qui en faisant chiere trop horrible et effroyee de bellissant saprocha. et vng de ses deux enfans prist entre ses dens et parmy le bois sen fouit. Si fut adonc la dame dolente et non sans cause de voyx feble et lasse commenca moult piteusement a crier. Et a ses deux piez et a deux mains sen va parmy le bois apres la cruelle beste qui son enfant emportoit. las mais trop petit luy valut sa poursuyte. car iamais son enfant ne verra tant que par diuin miracle son enfant luy sera rendu Tant chemina la dame parmy la

[1] *no gap* [2] que

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forez en plourant (b iii) pour son filz et tant fort se traueilla daler apres que vne tresforte maladie la print. et demoura pausmee et contre la terre se coucha ainsi comme femme morte. Je vous laisseray a parler delle et vous parleray de lautre enfant qui tout seul demoura. Il auint en iceluy iour que le roy pepin partit de paris acompaigne de plusieurs grans barons ducz contes et cheualiers pour aler a constantinoble veoir sa seur bellissant. si tira vers orleans et tant chemina quil entra dedens la forez ou estoit sa seur acouchee. Mais nulle riens nen sceut pour celle fois. or est il vray comme de dieu fut le plaisir que le roy pepin par la forez passant auisa desoubz le hault arbre lautre filz de bellissant qui tout seul et desus la terre gisoit Si cheuauche celle part et dist a ses barons seigneurs par le dieu qui tout crea iay fait icy moult belle trouue et bonne encontre. regardes comment vecy vng beau enfant. par ma foy dirent les barons vous dites verite. Or dit le roy ie veul quil soit nourry a mes despens tant que dieu luy donnera vie. et quil soit garde bien songneusement. car sil vient a eage ie lui feray du bien largement. Adonc le roy appella vng sien escuier et luy bailla la charge de lenfant en luy disant Prenez cestuy enfant et le portez a orleans et le faites baptiser et luy queres vne nourrice. et faites que on pense de luy tout au mieulx quil sera possible. bon droit auoit pepin se de lenfant estoit amoureulx. Car il estoit son nepueu. mais pas ne le scauoit. Lescuier print lenfant et le porta en la ville dorleans. le fit baptiser et lui donna son nom car nommer le fit valentin. Car tel estoit le nom de lescuier puis demanda vne nourryce et fist penser de lenfant ainsi que on luy auoit baille la charge....

B. Specimen of *Valentyne and Orson*, London, 1548–58

The passage begins at the top of folio D iii verso, and opens chapter 5.

BEllyssant[1] was ryding within the forest, the which was with chylde as you haue heard recyted before. It happened that her bodye had determined and fulfilled her time, that constrayned her for to descende of her horse and complayne her tenderly. Blandimain demaunded her what she ayled that she complayned her soo. Alas Blandymayn sayde the lady, lyght downe of thy horse &

[1] *ornamental initial*

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helpe that I were layde vnder yonder great tree, and thynke diligently for to seke me some wife. For the tyme is come that I must nedes be deliuered without any lenger delaye. Blandymayne descended quickely and laid her vpon a fayre grene place vnder a tree, the which he did chose and marke for to knowe it the better. And then he lept on horsebacke, & rode also fast as he might for to seke some wyfe to helpe and sucoure the lady. The noble lady Bellyssant abode there all alone without any company, saue God and the blessed virgyn mary, that did helpe her, and succoured her in such maner that she was deliuered of twoo fayre sonnes in the forest. But they were not so sone come vpon the earthe, but that the good lady suffred muche payne and anguyshe as you shall heare. So as the lady was deliuered of the fruyte of her wombe, and that she laye vnder the tree, ther came vnto her a beer, the which was marueilously great and horrible, & toke one of her children in his mouthe, and wente his waye[2] into the thycke of the forest also faste as he myght. Then was the gracious lady sorowfull & not without a cause, for the perdiccion of her chylde, and began for to crye with a feable voyce muche pyteously. And vpon bothe her fete & handes she wente after the beer in the forest, that was (D iv) anone out of her syght. Alas to lytle auayled her the pursuyte. For she shal neuer se her chyld vnto the tyme that by myracle he be yelded vnto her agayne. So longe went the lady through the forest wepyng for her child, and trauaylled her so sore to goo after, that a stronge sicknes toke her, in suche wise that she fel in a swoune vpon the colde earth as it had bene a dead woman. I wyll leue here to speake of her, and wyll tell you of the other childe that was left all alone. It happened the same daye that the kynge Pepyn was departed out of Parys, accompanyed wys diuers great lordes and barons, for to go vnto Constantinoble to se his sister bellyssant. And toke his way towarde Orleaunce, and he rode so faste that he entred into the forest where as his syster Bellyssant was deliuered, but he knew nothyng therof at that tyme. Now it is true as it was the pleasure of god that as the kynge Pepyn passed throughe the forest, he espyed vnder the hye tree the other sonne of Bellyssant all alone that lay vpon the earth, soo he rode that waye and sayd vnto hys barons. Lordes by the god that created all thynges I haue founde here a muche fayre encountre, se what a fayre chylde I haue founde here. By Ihesus sayd the lordes syr kynge you say

[2] e *inverted*

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true. Nowe sayd the kynge Pepyn I wyll that it be nourysshed at myne expenses also longe as god shall giue it lyfe. And wil that it be kept ryght tenderly, and nobly as if it were myne owne propre chylde. For yf *that* god sende hym lyfe vntyll the tyme that he be a man I shal gyue hym great landes and tenementes for to liue vpon. Then the kynge Pepyn called vnto hym one of hys squyers, and gaue hym the charge of the chyld, sainge to him. Bere this child to Orleaunce, & make it be (verso) baptyzed, and seke him a good nouryce, and make that he be nourysshed also well as is possible Good ryght had kyng Pepyn to loue the chylde, for he was hys neuewe, but he knewe it not. The squyer toke the childe as kyng Pepyn badde hym and bare it into Orleaunce. And after made it to be baptised and gaue it his name For he made it to be named Valentine, for suche was the name of the sqyer. After he sought a nouryce and made the chylde to be well kept as he was commaunded....

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APPENDIX II

VALENTINE AND ORSON IN ENGLISH

The present work was begun as part of the introduction to a projected edition of the English *Valentine and Orson;* but the study of the sources of the French romance grew to the dimensions of a book in itself. Meanwhile, some material had been gathered bearing on the history of the romance in English; and this material, although it remains incomplete, is here presented in the hope that it will be of interest to English and American readers. The material is ordered chronologically, and the editions are numbered consecutively, no attempt being made to reproduce information concerning them already in print.

Abbreviations:

B = Boston Public Library
BM = British Museum
E = A. Esdaile, *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740*, London, 1912, pp. 133 ff.
Ha = Harvard College Library
Hu = Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery
LC = Library of Congress
NY = New York Public Library
S = Seelmann, *Valentin und Namelos*, pp. xxxiii ff.
SR = E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640* A.D., London, 1875–94.
STC = A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475–1640*, London, 1926.
Y = Yale University Library

Two or three editions of which no mention was found are described from copies in my possession.

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1. Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster, 1510?

VO was translated from the French by Henry Watson for Wynkyn de Worde, as we learn from edition 2, fol. A^{2}recto:

"The whiche historye I Henrye Watson symple of vnderstondynge haue translated out of Frenche in to our maternall tongue of Englyshe, at the Instaunce of my worshypfull mayster Wynkyn de Worde. Prayeng all the reders or hearers here of to haue my youth for excused, yf I haue fayled in any thyng."

Watson translated also *The Ship of Fools*, 1509; *The Church of the Evil Men and Women*, 1511; *Oliver of Castile*, 1518; and *The Gospel of Distaves*, undated.[1] In *The Ship of Fools*, he begs the reader to forgive his errors on the ground of his youth, but the words are merely a translation from the French;[2] in VO, they are his own addition. *Oliver of Castile* has no mention of the translator's youth, and I have not seen Watson's other translations. Pending further investigation, therefore, I have assigned conjecturally to Watson's VO the approximate date 1510.

The translation (like all of Watson's)[3] is marked by close adherence to the original, subject to the errors of a rather wide ignorance; but since Watson as translator of *The Ship of Fools* has been recently and mercilessly discussed by Fr. A. Pompen (*The English Versions of The Ship of Fools*, London, 1925), it is sufficient here to refer the reader to that devastating exposé.

Of the first edition, only fragments have been recorded:

(a) "Farmer had a fragment of a very old edition, probably printed by Wynkyn de Worde." — J. O. Halliwell, *A Catalogue of Chap-Books, Garlands, and Popular Histories*, London, 1849, p. 29.

(b) "A leaf of an edition, apparently in de Worde's type, among Bagford's Collections." — W. C. Hazlitt, *Collections and Notes*, London, 1876, p. 435. — Of these two fragments (perhaps the same) I have met with no other independent notice.

[1] E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade*, London, 1905, p. 166, and in *Cambridge History of Engl. Lit.*, II (1908), 369. Watson's *Oliver of Castile* was reprinted for the Roxburghe Club in 1898 (ed. R. E. Graves).

[2] Pompen, *English Versions of The Ship of Fools*, pp. 282, 287.

[3] F. W. D. Brie, in *Englische Studien*, XXXVII (1907), 18.

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(c) A fragment of four leaves was discovered in the binding of a book at Bolton Abbey, Yorkshire, and briefly described in Ames, Herbert and Dibdin, *Typographical Antiquities*, III, London, 1816, p. 163. Mr. Francis Thompson, librarian of the Duke of Devonshire, kindly informs me that the fragment is now in the library at Chatsworth, and that there is a proposal on foot for the publication of this and other fragments in the Chatsworth library. Meanwhile, the identification of the fragment as a product of de Worde's press appears to rest upon Dibdin's authority alone, although Dibdin's brief description makes it evident that it does not belong to either of the extant Copland editions.[4]

1547.

At the coronation festivities, February 19, "on the pageant at the great conduit in Cheap were persons representing Valentine and Orson, who spoke." — Withington, *English Pageantry*, I, 185.

2. William Copland for John Walley, London, 1548–58. STC, 24572[a].

4^0, A^8, B–Ll^4, Mm–Yy^8, a^8, b^4, c^5; 245 leaves, type-page 16 × 9½ cm., 32 lines; title and woodcut A^1, table of contents A^2–A^7, woodcut A^8 verso, text B^1–c^5. The translation is said to be Watson's (see quotation above from fol. A^2 recto), and the text is presumably a reprint from edition 1; it is divided into 118 chapters, and a half-page woodcut follows each chapter rubric. The date limits are fixed by the statement in the colophon that the book was printed "in Fletestrete at the sygne of the Rose Garland" (Duff, *Century*, p. 32; *Hand-Lists of Books Printed by London Printers, 1501–1556*, London, 1913, William Copland, pp. 3 ff.). The only recorded copy, formerly in the Britwell Court library (E), is now in the Huntington Library. The copy is imperfect, lacking leaves a^2–a^7 inclusive. A photostat, procured for me through the kindness of Dr. George Watson Cole of the Huntington Library and Mr. Roger Howson of the Columbia University Library, is now in the latter library; the specimen of text in Appendix I above, and the description of the edition, are from this photostat.

[4] The leaves correspond to folios C^3–D^2 inclusive of edition 2; one of them bears the signature B^3, indicating that the edition lacked the table of contents which occupies six leaves in the Copland editions.

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3. William Copland, London, 1562–67. — Ames, Herbert and Dibdin, *Typographical Antiquities*, III, 163; BM *Catalogue of Printed Books, Supplement;* S; STC, 24572.[5]

The date limits are again set by the colophon, the book having been printed "ouer agaynst S. Margaretes Churche in Lothbery" (Duff, *Century*, p. 33; *Hand-Lists*, William Copland, p. 7). A comparison of photostatic copies of several pages of this edition (from the unique copy in the BM) with the corresponding pages of the photostat of edition 2 indicates that edition 3 was set from edition 2, which it follows page for page and line for line, but with continual variation in spelling and punctuation, and with the substitution of a few new cuts.[6]

1581?

"As for example, I may speake, (though I am heere) of *Peru*, and in speech, digresse from that, to the description of *Calicut:* but in action, I cannot represent it without *Pacolets* horse." — Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie* (ed. Arber, London, 1868, p. 64); for the allusion, cf. p. 218 above.

1586.

VO was licensed to Thomas Purfoot, August 8. — SR, II, 453.

1592.

"Let me, like the noble queen of France obtain the favor of some fairy to be my midwife, that my babe may be as happily born in this wilderness, as was her valiant sons, Valentine and Orson, the one of them cherished by a king and the other by a bear, yet both of them grew famous in their deeds." — Richard Johnson, *Seven Champions of Christendom*, ch. 17, quoted by J. E. Matzke, *PMLA*, XIX (1904), 462.[7]

1595.

"An enterlude of Valentyne and Orsson, plaid by hir maiesties Players," licensed to Thomas Gosson and Raffe Hancock, May 23. — SR, II, 298.

[5] STC is in error in assigning a copy of this edition to Hu (letter to me of Leslie Edgar Bliss, Librarian, October 5, 1927).

[6] E states erroneously that there are 117 chapters; there are 118, as in edition 2, the last chapter being misnumbered.

[7] For another possible use of VO in the *Seven Champions*, cf. above, p. 228, n. 25.

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1598.

Henslowe paid five pounds to Anthony Munday and Richard Hathwaye for "a Boocke called vallentyne & orsen," July 19. — W. W. Greg, *Henslowe's Diary*, London, 1904–08, I, 90; II, 195.

1600.

"A famous history called Valentine and Orsson played by her maiesties Players" was licensed to William White, March 31. — SR, III, 159.

Of the lost Elizabethan play (or pair of plays) we have perhaps a trace in the account given by Sir Offley Wakeman in 1884 of the village dramas which were performed in the hilly district west of the Stretton Hills within the recollection of some then living. VO is in the short list, with two obviously Elizabethan relics, *Prince Mucidorus* and *Dr. Forster* (*Faustus*). All that was remembered of the play was that "there were kings and queens on the stage" (*Transactions of the Shropshire Archæological and Natural History Society*, VII, 383 ff.; C. S. Burne and G. F. Jackson, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, London, 1883–86, pp. 493 ff.).

1611.

"Come on, poor babe.
Some powerful spirit instruct the kites and ravens
To be thy nurses! Wolves and bears, they say,
Casting their savageness aside, have done
Like offices of pity."

— Shakespeare, *Winter's Tale*, II, iii, 185.

The allusion, if to any actual story of a suckling bear, must be to VO (J. Rendel Harris, *Contemporary Review*, CXXVI, 1924, p. 331).

1612.

"Valentine and Orson were of King Pepin's blood." — Ballad, "St. George for England," in Percy's *Reliques* (ed. H. B. Wheatley, London, 1876–77, III, 291).

1614.

Robert Ashley (born 1565), in his autobiography of this date, includes VO among the romances he read when a boy; the passage is printed by R. S. Crane, "The Reading of an Elizabethan Youth," *MP*, XI (1913), 271.

1615.

VO licensed to Thomas Purfoot (the younger), November 6. — SR, III, 576.

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4. London, 1637. — S; E; STC, 24573.

Beginning with edition 4, the printed texts are variously abridged, but always with Watson as a basis.

1639.

Purfoot's rights assigned to Thomas Wright, February 1. — SR, IV, 454.

5. London, 1649. — S; Huth copy (E) now Hu.

1650?

Ballad, "The Emperour and the Childe," in Percy Folio MS. (ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, London, 1867–69, II, 390).

6. London, 1664. — E.

7. London, 1671. Valentine | and | Orson, | The Two Sons of the Emperour of | Greece. | Newly Corrected and Amended, with new Pictures, | Lively expressing the Hitory [sic]. | [Cut] | London, Printed by G. Purslow, for Tho. Passinger, and | are to be sold at his Shop, at the Sign of the | three Bibles on London-Bridge 1671. — 12°, 225 + pp. (lacks pp. 3–6), woodcuts, 52 chapters. Gift of James Orchard Halliwell. — Ha.

8. London, 1673. — E.

9. London, 1677. — S; E.

10. London, 1680. — E.

11. London, 1680? — S; E.

1681.

Off the coast of South America, "a lusty [Indian] boy [boarded the ship. He] . . . appeared by his actions to be very innocent and foolish. But by his carriage I was also persuaded that he was a man-eater . . . we kept him prisoner and called him Orson." — From the log of Basil Ringrose; *History of the Bucaniers of America*, New York, 1826, II, 163–66.

12. London, 1682. — S; E.

13. London, 1683. — E.

14. London, 1685. — S; E.

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15. London, 1688. — S; E (Bridgewater House copy, now Hu); Y.

16. London, 1690? — S; E.

17. London, 1694. — S; E; Ha.

18. London, 1696. — S; E.

19. London, 1700? — S; E; Ha; Hu.

1709.

Mr. Bickerstaff's "familiar" Pacolet, who goes invisible and reveals the thoughts of other people, borrows his name from VO; *Tatler*, nos. 13, 15, etc.; cf. p. 218.

20. London, 1710? — S; E; Ha.

1711.

The *Daily Courant*, February 19, mentions "Valentine and Orson" as the sign of a coffee-house in Long Lane, Bermondsey; "and there they remain till the present day." — J. Larwood and J. C. Hotten, *History of Signboards*, London, 1866, p. 76.

21. London, 1712. — S; E.

22. London, 1724 (D. Pratt). — S; E.

23. London, 1724 (Tho. Norris). — S; Ha.

24. London, 1736. — S; E.

25. London, 1741. — S.

26. Dublin, 1749. — S.

27. London, 1750? (E. Midwinter). — S; E.

28. London, 1750? (Aldermary Churchyard). — S.

29. London, 1751. The | Renowned | History | of | Valentine | and | Orson, | The Two Sons of the | Emperor of Greece. | Newly Corrected and Amended. | Adorn'd with Cuts. | London: | Printed for R. Ware, on Ludgate- | Hill; C. Hitch, in Pater-Noster- | Row; and J. Hodges, at London- | Bridge. 1751. — 12°, 128 + pp., 42 chapters.

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30. Dublin, 1759. — S.

1762.

"When Guy, Earl of Warwick, and Parismus and Parismenus, and Valentine and Orson, and the Seven Champions of England, were handed around the school, — were they not all purchased with my own pocket-money?" — Uncle Toby, in Sterne, *Tristram Shandy*, bk. VI, ch. 32.

31. London, 1765. Ballad, "Valentine and Ursine," in Percy's *Reliques* (ed. Wheatley, III, 265).[8]

32. Glasgow, 1769. — BM, *Cat. of Printed Books, Supplement.*

33. Newcastle, 1780? — S.

34. Belfast, 1782. — S.

35. London, 1790? — S; B.

36. Haverhill, 1794. — C. Evans, *American Bibliography*, Vol. 9, Chicago, 1925, no. 27605.

37. London, 1795? — S.

38. London, 1795? The | Heroic Exploits | of | Valentine | and | Orson, | An Ancient Romance. | Carefully revised from the Original. | London | Printed and Sold, Wholesale and Retail, at Seale's Printing | Office, 160, Tottenham Court Road; where may be had | a great Variety of Entertaining Publications. | Entered at the Stamp Office. | Price Six-Pence. — Narrow 8°, 40 pp., no chapter division, engraved frontispiece by E. Malpas. — Ha.

39. Edinburgh, 1800? — S.

40. London, 1800? — BM.

1802.

William Godwin recommends VO among books "calculated to excite the imagination, and at the same time quicken the appre-

[8] This ballad of Percy's is of course an edition of the romance, just as much as any of the other abridged and altered versions; a complete bibliography of the romance would therefore include all editions of the *Reliques*, which however I have not added here.

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hensions of children." — C. K. Paul, *William Godwin: His Friends and Contemporaries*, London, 1876, II, 119.

1803.

"The books of chivalry have become scarce. . . . Some few are still published for children, and it is no little proof of their merit that they are their favourite books. In England we have Valentine and Orson, and the Seven Champions of Christendom." — Southey, in Preface to *Amadis of Gaul*, I, xxix.

41. London, 1804. — BM (card catalogue of accessions).

42. London, 1804. Valentine and Orson, | A Romantic Melo-Drame, | as performed at the | Theatre-Royal Covent-Garden. | Written by T. Dibdin. | Author of | The Jew and Doctor, Birth-Day, Will for the Deed, | Cabinet, English Fleet, Family Quarrels, | Il Bondocani, School for Prejudice, Five | Thousand a Year, Saint David's Day, | Naval Pillar, Mouth of the Nile, | Horse and the Widow, &c. &c. | and produced under the direction of | Mr. Farley. | The Overture and Music by Mr. Jouve. | London: | printed and published by Barker and Son, | Dramatic Repository, | Great Russell Street, Covent Garden. | 1804. — 8°, 50 pp., frontispiece. — BM; NY.

Dibdin's "romantic melo-drame" was played at Covent Garden, April 3, 1804; at the Haymarket, in 1820; and at Drury Lane, in 1825 and in 1837.[9] The famous pantomimist Grimaldi played Orson, making his first appearance at Covent Garden in the part, October 9, 1806;[10] he was still playing it there in 1815.[11] Dibdin's play was first acted in America at the Park Theatre, New York, April 15, 1805, and again in 1806, 1814, and 1828;[12] Professor R. H. Rusk has notes of nine performances in Louisville, Cincinnati, and Detroit, between 1831 and 1838; the latest of these is announced in

[9] J. Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, Bath, 1832, VII, 620; IX, 65, 327; *Athenæum*, April 1, 1837, p. 236.

[10] *Memoirs of Joseph Grimaldi edited by Boz*, London, 1903, p. 126.

[11] Hazlitt, in *The Examiner*, July 23.

[12] G. C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, II, New York, 1927, pp. 231, 251, 428; J. N. Ireland, *Records of the New York Stage*, New York, 1866–67, I, 233, 299, 553.

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the *Detroit Free Press*, September 15, 1838, as the "benefit of Mr. Marble," with Marble as Orson. The play is a free adaptation of the first half of the story, to the revelation of the brazen head (which is called the Golden Oracle). Genest's remark is ample: "The dialogue is poorly written, but as a spectacle the piece has great merit" (*o. c.*, VII, 620).

43. London, 1804. Valentine and Orson, | as performed at | The Theatre Royal, | Covent Garden. | Pr. 6^{d} Plain. 1 s. Col.^{d} | London Pub. as the Act directs, April 20th 1804. — A toy-book, consisting of eight colored engraved scenes with rhymed description. The scenes are arranged in two groups of four, the top four being purposely cut across the middle, so that when lifted they show the other four, which are entire. The whole is folded into a narrow paper cover, 18 × 8 cm., the title being set in an inch space above the first scene. — Ha.

44. New York, 1806. Valentine and Orson, | A | Romantic | Melo-Drame. | By Thomas Dibdin, | Author of Will for the Deed, Cabinet, | Family Quarrels, Il Bondocani, Five | Thousand a Year, Naval Pillar, | Mouth of the Nile, Horse | and Widow, &c. &c. | As performed at the theatres | Covent-Garden and New-York. | From the prompt-book — by permission of the managers. | New-York: | Printed and Published by D. Longworth, | at the Dramatic Repository, | Shakspeare-Gallery. | 1806. — 24°, 32 pp. — B; Ha.

1807.

" . . . deeply read in the history of Cinderella, Valentine and Orson, Blue Beard, and all those recondite works so necessary to enable a man to understand the modern drama." — *Salmagundi*, No. VI, March 20 (ed. E. A. Duyckinck, New York, [1860,] p. 159).

45. Newcastle, 1810? — S.

46. New York, 1811. Valentine and Orson: | A Romantic Melo-Drame, | in two acts. | By Thomas Dibdin, | Author of . . . As performed at the theatres, | Covent-Garden and New-York. | New-York: | Published by D. Longworth, | at the Dramatic Repository, | Shakspeare-Gallery. | Jan. — 1811. | (second edition.) — 16°, 28 pp. — B; Ha; NY.

47. Boston, 1811. The | History | of | Valentine and Orson. | Boston: | Printed and published by Samuel Avery, at the Juvenile |

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Bookstore, no. 91 Newbury street, | 1811. | Price 12½ Cents. — 24°, cover-title, 34 + pp. (about 4 pp. missing at the end), with cuts. — LC.

In this, as in several of the following editions, hints are taken from Dibdin.

48. Philadelphia, 1813. The | History and Adventures | of the | Renowned Princes | Valentine | and | Orson. | Philadelphia: | Published and Sold Wholesale by Wm Charles, and | may be had of all the Booksellers. | Price 18 3–4 Cents. | 1813. | W. M'Culloch, Printer. — Cover-title, 14 × 11 cm., n. p., 11 plates with accompanying verses. — LC.

49. Glasgow, 1815? — S.

50. London, 1816. — S.

1820.

"A wild Irishman, named F**, one evening beginning to say something at a large supper at Cambridge, Matthews roared out 'Silence!' and then, pointing to F**, cried out, in the words of the oracle, 'Orson is endowed with reason.'" — Anecdote of Charles Skinner Matthews, Byron's friend of Cambridge days (1805–08), told by Byron in a letter of 1820 (T. Moore, *Works of Lord Byron*, London, 1833, I, 185). The quotation is from Dibdin's play, and testifies to its popularity.

"The hero [of the German drama] is a sort of metaphysical Orson, armed not with teeth and a club, but with hard sayings and unanswerable sentences." — Hazlitt, *Lectures on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth* (*Collected Works*, ed. A. R. Waller and A. Glover, London, 1902, V, 361).

51. Banbury, 1825? — S.

52. Coventry, 1825? — S.

53. Glasgow, 1825? The | Famous History | of | Valentine and Orson. | [Cut] | Glasgow: | Printed for the Booksellers. — 16°, 24 pp. — NY.

54. London, 1826. — S; NY.

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55. London, 1829? Dibdin's play, included in John Cumberland's *British Theatre*, Vol. XXVII, no. 8. 16°, 28 pp. — BM; Ha; LC; NY (the covers and title-pages vary, but the contents of all are apparently identical).

56. Newcastle, 1830? — S.

57. —, 1835? Aunt | Primrose's | Library. | N° 8. | Valentine | and | Orson. | Price 2d. | Published by J. March, 12, Webber S^{t} — 8°, 16 pp. — Library of Thomas Ollive Mabbott, Brown University.

58. Paris, 1837. — S.

59. Manchester, 1839? — S. (Cf. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, pp. 481 ff.)

60. Paris, 1840? In *The Child's Own Book*, Paris, Baudry. 18°. — Chauvin, *Bibliog. des ouvrages arabes*, IV, 79.

1841.

"A tête-à-tête with Haredale, which, vanity apart, was quite a Valentine and Orson business." — Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge*, ch. 15.

1843.

"'And Valentine,' said Scrooge, 'and his wild brother, Orson; there they go!'" — Dickens, *Christmas Carol*, Stave Two.

The last performance of Dibdin's play of which I have found record was in 1838. But from this point on, the story becomes a theme for Christmas pantomime and burlesque. The first of these pantomimes was performed at Drury Lane in the Christmas season of 1843; the *Athenæum* reviewer found it "triste and tiresome" (January 6, 1844, p. 19).

61. London, 1845. — S.

1845.

> "So, I shall find out some snug corner
> Under a hedge, like Orson the wood-knight,
> Turn myself round and bid the world good-night."
> — Browning, *Flight of the Duchess*, XVII.

A burlesque by Albert Smith was played in 1845 at the Lyceum with great success, the acting of Keeley as Orson and Mrs. Keeley as Valentine being especially commended (*Athenæum*, February 1,

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p. 130; A. Smith, *Mont Blanc, with a Memoir of the Author by E. Yates*, London, n. d., p. xii).

62. London, 1846. The | Famous History | of | Valentine and Orson, | The Two Sons of the Emperor of Greece. | London: | Published by J. S. Pratt. | MDCCCXLVI. — 12°, 318 pp., 42 chapters.

1848.

A burlesque by John Brougham was performed at Burton's Theatre, New York (Ireland, *o.c.*, II, 514).

63. London, 1850? — BM, *Cat. of Printed Books, Supplement.*

1852.

"Why she detested me, so far as I know, arose . . . in part out of my savage, Orson-like sincerity." — De Quincey, *Introduction to the World of Strife* (D. Masson, *Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey*, London, 1896–97, I, 84).

1855.

Smith's burlesque was revived at the Adelphi, with the Keeleys, and with new jests "à propos of the times" (*Athenæum*, November 10, p. 1313; C. Scott, *The Drama of Yesterday and To-Day*, London, 1899, II, 552).

64. London, 1867. The Percy Folio MS. ballad first printed, by Hales and Furnivall (see above, under year 1650).

65. London, 1876. — S.

The Three Bears' Picture Book, illustrated by Walter Crane.[13]

66. London, 1877? Charles Merion: The Grand Comic Pantomime entitled Valentine and Orson; or, Harlequin['s] Progress, and the Knight that fought and gained the day. Aubert's Steam Printing Works. 24 pp., one act. — BM, *Cat. of Printed Books, Supplement.*

Merion's pantomime was played at the Gaiety in 1877 (J. Hollingshead, *Gaiety Chronicles*, Westminster, 1898, pp. 377, 467).

1880.

"Valentine and Orson; or, Harlequin and the Magic Shield," a pantomime by F. C. Burnand, at Covent Garden (*Athenæum*, January 1, 1881, p. 29).

[13] According to G. C. E. Massé, *A Bibliography of First Editions of Books Illustrated by Walter Crane*, London, 1923, p. 12, Crane's VO first appeared about 1870.

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67. London, 1882. J. Ashton, *Chap-Books of the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 109–23. Reprint from edition 28.

68. London, 1882. Valentine and Orson | A New Burlesque Drama | by Robert Reece | Printed by R. Wilson & Co. | Dorset Buildings, Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, London, E. C. | 1882. — 8°, 39 + pp. — BM, Ha.

Reece's burlesque was played at the Gaiety, December 23, 1882, with Nellie Farren as Valentine and Kate Vaughan as Eglantine; cf. Hollingshead, *o. c.*, pp. 429, 471. It is based more or less on Dibdin, and crammed full of atrocious puns.

1883.

Sonnet, "An Orson of the Muse [Walt Whitman]," by George Meredith (*Poetical Works*, New York, 1912, p. 187).

69. London, 1887. J. Ashton, *Romances of Chivalry*, pp. 235–56. A retelling from edition 3.

70. London, 1889? Price Sixpence; or Mounted on Linen, One Shilling. | Walter Crane's toy books. | New Series. | Valentine and Orson | George Routledge & Sons. — 4°, cover-title in design, 8 pp., colored plates. Listed on back cover as no. 107 of Routledge's New Sixpenny Toy Books. — B.

71. London and New York, 1897? Walter Crane's Picture | Books: Re-Issue | Valentine and Orson | London & New York | John Lane. — 4°, cover-title in design, 8 pp., illus. end-papers, colored plates apparently identical with those of edition 70.

72. London and New York, 1897? Cinderella's Picture Book; containing Cinderella, Puss in Boots, Valentine and Orson, with the original coloured pictures, & new additions by Walter Crane; engraved and printed by Edmund Evans. London and New York, John Lane. — 4°, 3 v. in 1, illus. title-page and end-papers. On the cover: Walter Crane's Picture Books. Large Series, Reissue. Vol. III. The VO appears identical with editions 70 and 71. — LC.

1907.

"You know how opposed your whole 'third manner' of execution is to the literary ideals which animate my crude and Orson-like breast." — William James to Henry James, May 4 (*The Letters of William James*, Boston, 1920, II, 277).

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73. London and New York, 1916? F. Warne & Co. 4°, cover-title, [12] pp., colored plates. On cover: The old fairy tales, pictured by H. M. Brock. — LC (catalogue).

74. London, 1919. Valentine and Orson | The Twin Knights of France | Retold from the Original by | S. R. Littlewood | How many miles is it to Babylon? — | Three score miles and ten! — | Can I get there by candle-light? — | Yes, and back again! | If your heels are nimble and light, | You can get there by candle-light! | Nursery Rhyme | Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co., Ltd. | 4 Stationers' Hall Court, London, E. C. 4 | 1919. — 8°, xii + 144 pp., 6 chapters, illus. end-papers, eight colored illustrations by Florence Anderson.

1921.

"I confess to having experienced something like a shudder at seeing Mr. Shaw's name in the list of contents. What could that 'Orson of the Muse' be doing in that 'galère'?" — Richard Le Gallienne, in *New York Times Book Review and Magazine*, July 31, p. 4.

1926.

"I'm the only person in the whole world who could have been such a fool as to come in this rough brutal bear-cub gold dress . . . looking like a savage Orson to everyone else's Valentine." — Elinor Wylie, in *The New Yorker*, May 8, p. 17.

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INDEX

Persons in the story have been indexed only where their names or characters are discussed, or where new stories are connected with names familiar in other romances. No attempt is made to index the names or authors of modern scholarly works. On the other hand, the aim has been to list all works of literature or their authors, all historical characters, and all story motives, mentioned in the text or notes.

Abduction of willing lady, 231
Acts of John, 228 n.
Adramain, 223
Advice to the bride, 165
Ailbe, St., 103 n.
Aimeri de Narbonne, 247, 250 n.
Aiol, 151 n., 168 n., 192 n.
Aiol, Dutch, 136 n.
Alberic des Trois Fontaines, 207 n., 208 n.
Albertus Magnus, 213 f.
Aldhelm, 91 f.
Alexandre (in *Valentin et Orson*), 165
Alexandre, Roman d', 196
Alexius, St., 193 n., 251 ff.
Aliscans, 77, 125 ff., 173 n., 179 f., 184
Amadis of Gaul, 69 n.
Amargen, 103 n.
Ambiguous Oracle, 132, 180 f., 205 ff.
Ambush, 185: *see* Judicial Combat Interrupted
Amis et Amiles, 165, 178
Anderson, Florence, 298
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 230 n.
Angorie, 232
Anseïs de Carthage, 146
Antioche, 248
Apollonius of Tyre, 59 n.
Aquilon de Bavière, 248
Aquin, 177, 238
Arabian Nights, 68 n., 70 n., 199 f.
Ardschi-Bordschi, 103 n.
Ariosto, 67 n.
Armagnac, Count of, 238 f.
Arnold, Matthew, 70 n.
Arthur, 237, 238 f.
Arthur of Little Britain, 48 n., 186 n.
Asenath, 198 f.
Ashton, John, 119 n., 297
Aspremont, 177, 193 n.
Astrology, 204 f., 207, 209
Athis et Prophilias, 224 n.
Atre Perillos, 83 f., 85, 88 ff., 94, 95 f.
Auberon, 168 n.
Aucassin et Nicolette, 136 f.
Austen, Jane, 70 n.
Automata, 196 n.
Avadānakalpalatā, 39
Aye d'Avignon, 79 n., 146, 225 f., 229, 233 n.

Bacon, Francis, 92
Bacon, Roger, 213
Baphomet, 210
Barbara, St., 198, 200 n.
Bärensohn, 104 n., 117 f., 123 f., 127

Digitized by Google

Barri, St., 103 n.
Bartholomew, St., 193 f.
Bataille Loquifer, 187, 218 f., 220
Bauduin de Sebourc, 79 n., 175 n., 199, 220 n., 224 n., 229, 231, 242 n., 243 n.
Bear, 170 ff.
Beast: *see* Bear, Dog, Guiding, Helpful, Lion, Stealing, Suckling, Wolf
Beast-Marriage, 116 ff., 123 f.
Béatrix, 36, 37 n., 43, 69 n., 128 ff., 197 n.
Bede, 91
Bell, A. G., 215
Belle Hélène de Constantinople, 82 n., 105, 112, 170, 178, 199 f.
Bellissant, 165
Benedict, St., 227 f.
Bernard, St., 91 f.
Berry, Duke of, 238
Berte aus grans piés, 30 f., 69 n., 73 f., 164 f., 178
Besant de Dieu, 92 n.
Beues of Hamtoun, 143 n., 145, 148 ff., 169 n., 176, 198 n.
Biaus Descouneüs, 55, 128 n., 132 n., 186 n., 190 f.
Birth, custom concerning, 169
Bishop, wicked, 46, 166 f.
Bodies hung on trees, 186
Boeve de Haumtone, 130 f., 139 n., 143 n., 145 n., 147 n., 148 ff., 198 n., 227
Boiardo, 67 n., 120 n.
Bovo d'Antona, 48 n., 63 f., 67, 136 n., 140, 143 ff., 149 f., 176, 198 n., 242 n., 243 n.
Brandiffer, 229
Brazen Head, 191 ff.
Breaking of Enchanted Object, 56, 195
Brock, H. M., 298
Brougham, John, 296
Browning, 295
Bruce, 132 n.
Brut, English prose, 48 n.
Brutus, 32
Bueve de Hantone, 48 n., 63 f., 130 f., 136 f., 139 f., 143 ff., 165, 168 n., 176, 178 f., 184, 198 n., 235, 242 n., 243 n.
Burgundy, Duke of, 248: *see* Charles the Bold
Burlesque, 295 ff.
Burnand, F. C., 296
Busant, 116 n., 122 n.
Byron, 294

Caesarius of Heisterbach, 231
Cainnic, St., 202 n.
Calderon, 69 n.
Call of the Blood, 69 f., 71, 179, 186
Calumniated Wife: *see* False Accusation
Cannibalism Accusation, 38 ff.
Canterbury Tales, 174 n., 191 n.: *see* Constance
Carduino, 128 f., 135
Champagne, Count of, 248
Chapel Perilous, 95
Charlemagne, 30, 146, 234, 238
Charlemagne, 146, 236 n., 238, 245, 248, 250 n.
Charlemagne et Anseïs, 232
Charles VIII, 248, 249 n.
Charles le Chauve, 26 n., 43, 48 n., 55 n., 188 f., 220 n., 242 n., 264 n.
Charles the Bold, 239, 249
Chess game interrupted by bad news, 233
Chevalerie Ogier, 177, 187, 231, 233 n., 248
Chevalier à la Charrette, 61 n., 186
Chevalier à l'Epée, 120 n.
Chevalier as deus espees, 128 n., 132 n.
Chevalier au Cygne, 129

Digitized by Google

Chevalier du Papegau, 119 n., 173 n.
Christina, St., 198
Chroniques de France, 164
Ciperis de Vignevaux, 168 n.
Claradine, 249
Clarion de Vaudune, 190
Claris et Laris, 61 n., 78 n., 85, 89, 90, 96
Clement IV, Pope, 178
Cléomadès, 6 n., 174 n., 218, 224, 229, 238
Cligès, 165
Combat of Relatives, 99 f.; of Brothers, 107 ff., 179; of Father and Son, 250
Commines, 239
Confessio Amantis, 211 n.
Confession revealed, 46
Coningen, 104 n.
Constance, 73, 105, 199 f.
Contrasted Brothers, 107 ff.
Conversion legends, 193 ff.
Copland, William, 286 f.
Corbenic, 92 f., 94
Cormac, 104 n.
Couronnement Looys, 177
Coustant, 33
Covenant Vivien, 233 n.
Crane, Walter, 296 f.
Crescentia, 48 n., 72 ff., 82 n., 225
Cretophe, 228 f.
Crône, 54 n., 119
Croniques de Normandie, 247, 252, 255 n.
Cross between shoulders, 48 ff.
Cumae, 192
Cuthbert, St., 91
Cyriaene, St., 198
Cyrus, 32

Dalfadiane, 59 n.
Dame a la Lycorne, 93 f., 95
Dammartin, Count of, 248 f.
Dangerous Meal, 61, 82
De Ortu Waluanii, 168 n.
De Quincey, 296
Dead, realm of the, 94 ff.
Decameron, 115, 174
Deif van Brugghe, 67 n.
Demons in Idols, 192 ff.
Destruction de Rome, 177, 187
Dibdin, T. (dramatist), 292 ff., 297
Dibdin, T. F. (bibliographer), 286
Dickens, 292 n., 295
Digby Plays, 193 n.
Dimeschqi, 204
Disenchantment by Kiss, 55
Disguise as merchant, 239; as minstrel, 136; as physician, 237; as pilgrims, 62 ff., 260 f.; as Saracens, 240, 246
Dodinel le Sauvage, 114
Dog of Montargis, 167, 174, 185
Dolopathos, 33, 37, 69 n.
Don Quixote, 187 n., 211 n., 215
Doon de la Roche, 26 n., 30, 44, 165
Doon de Maience, 43, 47, 77 n., 79 n., 125 f., 128 f., 174 n.
Door-opening Charm, 220
Dragon, 226
Dreams, 74, 188, 220, 225
Drithelm, 91
Dümmling: *see* Unsophisticated Youth
Dympna, St., 200 n.

Eckenlied, 173 n.
Edda, 120, 203 n.
Edward IV, 239
Eisenhans, 116 n., 120 f.
Eliduc, 242 n., 243
Elie de St. Gilles, 241 n.
Elioxe, 37
Emare, 48 n.
Emperour and the Childe (Percy Folio MS.), 6 n., 99 n., 289, 296
Enamored Moslem Princess, 133, 140, 240 ff.

Digitized by Google

Enfances Garin, 151 n., 166 n., 175 n., 241 n.
Enfances Guillaume, 222, 233 n.
Enfances Ogier, 177, 248
Enfances Vivien, 108 n., 218, 220 n., 222
Enrique de Villena, 214
Erec, 132 n.
Erl of Tolous, 174 n.
Esclardie, 229
Esclarmonde, 188
Esglentine, 177
Esmoreit, 33
Estoire del Saint Graal, 194
Eustace, St. (Placidas), 54 n., 69 n., 82 n., 100 ff.
Evil Custom, 69 f.
Exposure, 25 n., 33 ff., 98 f., 101 f., 111
External Soul, 135
Eyrbyggja Saga, 202 n.

Fables, Marie de France, 169 n.
Fabliaux, 92 n.
Fairs, 174 f.
Falizee, 229
Falling in love with a person not seen, 187 f.
False Accusation, 25 n., 36, 38 ff., 70 ff., 105 ff., 113, 166, 178, 225 f.
Farren, Nellie, 297
Fate, 32 f.
Faust, 196 n., 208 n., 223 n., 288
Fecunda Ratis, 104 n.
Ferragu, 173
Fezonne, 181
Fierabras, 187, 224, 236, 241, 244
Fihrist, 204
Fioravante, 64 ff., 109 n.
Fletcher, 198 n.
Floire et Blanceflor, 189 n., 198 n., 209
Floovant, 66 f., 68, 146, 178 f., 221, 225, 242 n., 243 n
Florence de Rome, 72, 74 ff., 181 n., 229
Florent et Octavian, 48 n., 69 n., 147, 173 n., 178, 188, 235, 242 n., 243 n.
Floriant et Florete, 168 n., 178
Floris and Blauncheflur, 189 n.
Flying Horse, 217 ff., 246, 250
Foundlings, 25 n., 37, 48, 144 n., 151, 170: *see* Exposure
Fraisne, 242 n., 243 n.
Francis, St., 92
Frankhart, 45 f.

Gadifer, 187, 229
Galasie, 240 ff.
Galeran, 136, 175 n., 242 n., 243
Galien, 79 n., 187 n., 240, 244
Garin de Monglane, 79 n., 125 ff., 134 n., 181 f., 219, 235, 249 f.
Garin le Loherain, 233 n.
Gaufrey, 45 n., 125, 173 n., 189 n., 224, 231, 236, 241, 244
Gautier de Coincy, 76 n., 198 n.
Gawain, 54 n., 82 ff., 92, 118 f.
Gaydon, 45 n., 79 n., 92 n., 125, 250 n., 264
Geduldige Helene, 69 n.
Generides, 110, 112 f., 143, 145, 147, 149, 173 n., 178
George, St., 226, 228 n.
Gérard de Nevers, 84, 85, 89, 96
Gerbert (Pope), 205 ff.
Gervais, 247 f.
Gesta Romanorum, 72, 74, 123, 171 n., 208 n.
Geste de Liége, 45 n., 223 n.
Geste de Monglane, 219, 220 n.
Giants, 80, 113, 132, 134 f., 173, 187; giant so large that no horse can carry him, 173 n.
Gilgamesh, 122 n., 123
Gilles de Chin, 227
Gilles de Trasignies, 79 n., 112 n., 174 n., 175 n., 234, 242 n., 243
Girard of Paris, 233

Digitized by Google

Girart de Roussillon, 174 n.
Girbert de Metz, 79 n., 233
Glückskind, 32 f., 235 n.
Godin, 229
God not to be mentioned, 245 f.
Godric, St., 91 f.
Godwin, William, 291 f.
Golem, 196 n., 212 n.
Graelent, 54
Graf von Gleichen, 242 n., 243 n.
Grail castle, 92 f., 94, 96
Gran Conquista, 236 n.
Greene, Robert, 200 n., 201 n., 213
Green Knight (in Arthurian romance), 114
Green Knight (in *Valentin et Orson*), 181
Greeting formula, 177
Gregory I, St., 227
Gregory Acritensis, St., 91 n.
Gregory of Tours, 230 f.
Grimaldi, 292
Grisandole, 121
Grosseteste, 211 ff.
Guibert d'Andrenas, 241 n.
Gui de Bourgogne, 224
Gui de Nanteuil, 79 n., 165 n., 185, 226
Guiding Beast, 53 f.
Guido delle Colonne, 209
Guillaume d'Angleterre, 69 n., 104 f., 112, 169 f.
Guillaume de Gellone, St., 91: *see Moniage Guillaume*
Guillaume de Palerne, 69 n., 104 n., 143, 165 n., 178
Guillaume d'Orange, prose, 229
Guillotine, 87 ff., 94 ff.
Guiraut de Cabreira, 249 n.
Guy of Warwick, 69 n., 173 n., 177 ff., 184, 210 n., 233 n., 264 n., 291

Harran, 191 n., 204
Harris, J. Rendel, 98 ff., 172 n., 288
Hathwaye, Richard, 288
Hauffroy and Henry: *see* Rainfroi
Havelok, 48 n.
Hazlitt, 292 n., 294
Head: *see* Brazen, Oracular, Skull, Talking
Head preservation, 201 n.
Helpful Beast, 107, 118 n., 131
Henri de Valenciennes, 228 f.
Henslowe, 288
Hermit and the Saint, 92 n.
Hermits, 115 f., 121, 122, 264 n.
Higden, 207 n., 211
Hildegarde, 72
Histoire de Charles Martel, 229
Hollow Idol, 192
Homunculus, 196 n.
Horn Childe, 148
Horn et Rimenhild, 146 ff., 176 f., 178, 184, 242 n., 243
Horse: *see* Flying
Hrolf Ganga, 173 n.
Huge van Bordeeus, 63 n., 67 n.
Hugues Capet, 248
Huon de Bordeaux, 188, 219, 224, 229, 231, 232, 241 n.
Huon et Callisse, 242, 243 n., 244

Idol: *see* Demons, Hollow, Oracular
Ille et Galeron, 242 n., 243
Image du Monde, 207 ff.
Irene, St., 198
Isomberte, 37 n., 128 f.
Italian romance and legend: *see* Alexius, *Aquilon de Bavière*, *Bovo d'Antona*, *Fioravante*, *Reali di Francia*, *Viaggio di Carlo Magno*

James, William, 297
Jealous Sisters, 22 ff., 28 ff.
Jean d'Outremeuse, 45 f., 183, 236 n., 247: *see Geste de Liége*

Digitized by Google

Jehan de Lanson, 220 n., 222 n., 223 n.
Jerusalem, 248
Jourdain de Blaivies, 146, 149, 165, 187
Judas, 32
Judicial Combat, 173 f., 225 f.: *see following*
Judicial Combat Interrupted, 78 f., 131, 226
Judith, 224

Kaiserchronik, 48 n., 193 n.
Karl Mainet, 79 n., 236 n.
Kentigern, St., 91
Kevin, St., 91
Kipling, 104 n.
Kircher, 215
Kitchen adventures, 180, 236, 244 f.
Kudrun, 81 f.

Lady and her Suitors, 92 n.
Lady in the Water, 80, 83 ff., 95 f.
Lancelot, 128
Lancelot, Dutch, 83 n., 84, 85, 87 f., 89, 90, 93 n., 94, 95 f., 120 n.
Lancelot, prose, 56, 68 n., 69 n., 78 n., 92 f., 95, 128 n., 168 n., 195 ff., 198 n., 233 n.
Lanzelet, 55, 128, 143, 168 n.
Laurin, 121 n., 134 n.
Leesome Brand, 169 n.
Le Gallienne, Richard, 298
Legenda Aurea, 91 n., 193 f., 202, 226, 227, 230 n.
Lempatris, 183
Leprechaun, 120
Libeaus Desconus, 128: *see Biaus Descouneüs*
Liber Monstrorum, 173 n.
Lion de Bourges, 48 n., 136, 169 f., 175 n., 178, 241 n., 242 n., 243 n., 264
Lion will not injure king's child, 198
Littlewood, S. R., 298
Livre d'Artus, 62 n., 83 n., 87 n., 89 f., 96
Livy, 191
Loher und Maller, 78 n., 136, 178, 244
Longinus, St., 193
Louis XI, 238 f., 248
Love-Madness, 116 n.
Lucar, 229
Lucian, 191 f.

Mabinogion, 69 n.
Macaire, 45, 46 n., 48 n., 125 f., 127, 166 f., 174 f., 185
Macarius, St., 202
Madelgêr, 82
Maduc, 82 f., 85 ff., 96
Magicians, Contesting, 222 f.
Magic illusions, 222, 231
Magic in late romance, 219
Mahāvastu, 39
Mainet, 177 f., 229, 236
Malegijs, 48 n., 108, 134 ff., 235 n.
Manorathapūraṇī, 29 n.
Man with Two Wives, 139 ff., 242 ff.
Märchen, 23 ff., 28 ff., 73, 93 f., 104 n., 116 n., 117 f., 120 f., 135
Marco Polo, 119 n., 230 f.
Marienkind, 41 n., 43
Marques de Rome, 235
Masai, 41 f.
Masques, 115, 120 n.
Maugis d'Aigremont, 108 f., 112 f., 151 n., 168 n., 177, 179 n., 188, 220, 223, 251 n.
Meeting with Aged Man, 186; with Palmer, 62 ff., 67 f.; with Robber-Band, 62, 68
Mélusine, 117
Merchants as spreaders of news, 174

Digitized by Google

Meredith, 297
Merion, Charles, 296
Merlin, 116 n., 121
Merlin, Huth, 69 n., 110, 112 f.
Merlin, Vulgate, 121
Message of defiance, 177, 230
Miletos, 103 n.
Millon d'Angler, 226, 235, 237, 244 ff., 247, 249
Millon de Dijon, 249 f.
Mirk, John, 91 n.
Mirrour of the World, 207 n.
Moniage Guillaume, 248, 264 n.
Morolt, 82 n.
Mort Aimeri, 173 n., 187
Mort Artu, 79 n.
Morte Arthur, Harleian, 78 n.
Morte Arthure, alliterative, 173 n.
Morte Darthur, Malory, 69 n., 77 n., 79 n., 93 n., 95 f., 110 n., 173 n., 186 n., 220 n.
Mort Garin, 237
Mother-in-Law, Jealous, 25 n., 29 f.
Mucedorus, 120 n., 288
Munday, Anthony, 288

Namelos, 113 ff.
Narbonnais, 182
Nemours, Duke of, 238 f.
Nicholas, St., 193 n.

Ocean of Story (*Kathā Sarit Sāgara*), 32 n., 196 n., 212 n., 235 n.
Octavian, 30 n., 69 n., 102, 105 ff., 112 f., 173 n., 229, 231
Octavian, English, 178, 198 n.
Oedipus, 32, 250 n.
Olive, St., 73
Oliver of Castile, 285
Oracular Head, 200 ff.
Oracular Idol, 191 ff., 201 n.
Orleans, 213
Orsaire, 244
Orson, 170 f., 179 f., 184: *see* Namelos, Stealing Beast
Orson de Beauvais, 78 n., 79 n., 148, 165, 171, 175, 251 f., 258 ff.
Ortnit, 134 n.
Oswald, St., 92 n.
Other World, 94 f.
Otinel, 165
Overheard Conversation, 29, 40
Oxford, 211 ff.

Pacolet, 217 ff., 290
Padmavatī, 39
Pagan king slain on refusing baptism, 224
Pantomime, 295 ff.
Paramatthadīpanī, 29 n.
Paris, 32
Parise la Duchesse, 45 n., 46 f., 48 n., 143, 144 n., 166 n., 168, 178
Parzival, 107 f., 112, 128 n., 242 n., 243
Paulus Diaconus, 227, 233 n.
Peacock, 236
Penance, 251 ff.
Pepin, 30 f., 44, 146, 182 f., 234 ff., 238, 244
Perceval, 60 f., 84, 87, 89, 128 f.
Perceval, Chrétien, 94 n., 128 n., 129, 186 n.
Perceval, Gerbert, 61 n., 70, 84, 85, 89, 92 n., 96, 175 n., 186 n., 187, 188, 197 n.
Perceval, Manessier, 60, 61 n., 77 n., 78 n.
Perceval, pseudo-Wauchier, 47, 61 n., 94 n., 123 n.
Percy, Bishop, 99 n., 142 n., 288
Perlesvaus, 62 n., 85, 87, 89, 96, 197 f.
Perseus, 32
Peter of Provence, 116 n.
Phaedrus, 169 n.
Piers Plowman, 211 n.
Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 234 ff.

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Pitying Servant, 35, 102
Plautus, 100 n.
Pope rescued from Saracens, 177
Popes: *see* Clement, Gregory, Sylvester
Potiphar's Wife, 227
Prayer, 179
Prediction, 32 f.
Prévost d'Aquilée, 92 n.
Prise de Cordres, 241 n.
Prise d'Orange, 241 n.
Prophecies de Merlin, 178, 193 n.
Protecting Monster, 53, 190
Proud Knight, 186
Proverbs, 175, 177 n., 221 n., 224

Quarreling Twins, 98 ff.
Queen of Sivele, 139 ff., 227
Quentin of Normandy, 248
Queste del Saint Graal, 61 n., 186 n.
Quest of Wonderful Objects, 39 f., 50 ff.

Rabelais, 218
Rainfroi and Heudri (Hauffroy and Henry), 164, 178, 180, 185, 225 f., 234 f., 244 f.
Rainouart, 108, 125 ff., 180, 184, 187
Raising the devil, 235
Reali di Francia, 48 n., 63, 64 ff., 109 n., 142 n., 143, 223
Recognitions, pseudo-Clement, 69 n., 196 n.
Reece, Robert, 297
Regnier de Prouvence, 249 f.
Reinke de Vos, 189 n.
Renart Contrefait, 208
Renaut de Montauban, 79 n., 177, 220 n., 221 f., 232, 251, 264
Renier, 48 n., 63 n., 151 n., 218 f., 224
Rescue at the Stake, 44 ff., 77 ff., 128 ff.
Rescue from Giant, 131 f., 133 ff., 180, 185 ff.
Reunion of Lovers, 221
Revelation of Identity, 50 ff., 190 ff.
Richars li Biaus, 48 n.
Rigomer, 68 n., 118 n., 175 n.
Ring, 253, 258, 262 f.; of invisibility, 133 ff.; magic, 135 f., 188 f.
Ringrose, Basil, 289
Robastre, 232, 259
Robert le Diable, 247, 251 ff.
Robert of Normandy, 233
Roland, 179 n., 229, 250 n.
Rolandslied, 82 n.
Romulus and Remus, 98, 103 n.
Romulus Anglicus, 169 n.
Romulus Nilantius, 169 n.
Rosaio della Vita, 213 f.
Rosemunda, Queen of the Lombards, 227
Rother, 173 n.

Saint in the Water, 91 f.
Saint Patrick's Purgatory, 264 f.
Saint-Pol, Constable, 239
Saints: *see individual names followed by prefix "St."*
Saisnes, 229, 233 n.
Salmagundi, 293
Sanson d'Orléans, 247
Saturn, 211 n.
Savary, Duke of Acquitaine, 180 ff.
Schimpf und Ernst, 193 n., 208 n.
Scott, 115 n., 222
Seghelijn van Jerusalem, 33, 48 n., 72 n., 74, 78, 79, 250 n., 264 n.
Seifrid de Ardemont, 118 n., 119 n.
Seneschal, Wicked, 74 n.
Separated Brothers, 35, 37, 97 ff.
Separation of parents and children, 34 ff., 168 ff.
Sept Sages, 209
Serpent-Disenchantment, 55

Digitized by Google

Service under a false name, 221
Service under pagan kings, 229
Seven Champions of Christendom, 228 n., 287, 291, 292
Seven Sages of Rome, 67 n.
Sévigné, Mme. de, 218
Sevilla, 44 f., 62 n., 79 n.
Shakespeare, 198 n., 288
Shaw, Bernard, 298
Sheridan, 70 n.
Shield, Magic, 186
Ship of Fools, 285
Sibille, 44 ff., 62 f., 68, 78, 220 n.
Sidney, 198 n., 287
Siège de Barbastre, 190, 231
Sign of the cross, 60 f., 227 f.
Silence, 49 n., 121 n., 137 n., 235 n.
Silenus, 120
Simon and Jude, Sts., 193 f.
Simon de Pouille, 70, 241 n.
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, 54 n., 118
Sir Gowther, 251 n.
Sir Perceval, 128 n., 129
Skull-divination, 201 ff.
Sleeping-Charm, 62 f., 220
Sleeping-Draught, 62 ff., 67 f.
Smith, Albert, 295 f.
Sohrab and Rustum, 70 n., 99
Sone de Nansay, 226 n.
Southey, 292
Spagna, 229, 235, 238
Spenser, 124 n.
Starker Hans, 118, 123
Stay at a Foreign Court, 143 ff., 176 f., 178 f., 184
Stealing Beast, 101 ff., 169 ff.
Sterne, 291
Storie Nerbonesi, 165
Straparola, 23 f., 73, 116 n.
Stratagems, 70, 175, 177 f., 221
Suckling Beast, 36 f., 97 ff., 101 ff., 110 ff., 117 f., 170 ff.
Supernatural Attributes, 40, 41, 48 ff.
Swan-Children, 36 f., 44, 104 n.
Sylvester II, Pope, 205 ff.

Talking Christian image, 193 n.
Talking Idol: *see* Oracular
Talking severed head, 201 ff.
Tatler, 290
Taxes, burdensome, 175
Telephos, 32
Templars, 208, 210
Temptation, 60 f.
Teraphim, 201 n., 203, 206 n.
Thèbes, Roman de, 170, 175, 193 n., 250 n.
Theseus de Cologne, 174
Thomas, St., 230 f.
Thomas Aquinas, St., 214 n.
Toledo, 219 f.
Torrent of Portyngale, 173 n., 198 n.
Transportation in sleep, 221 f.
Tristan, Gottfried, 116 n.
Tristan, prose, 120 n.
Tristan, Thomas, 69 n., 186 n., 189, 196, 209, 242 n., 243 n.
Tristan de Nanteuil, 49 n., 55, 69 n., 73 f., 77 f., 79, 110 ff., 123, 151 n., 172 n., 175, 179, 229, 250 n.
Troie, Roman de, 209
Trompar, 218
Turk and Gawain, 61 n.
Turkish ancestor-myth, 103 n.
Turpini Historia, 196 n., 232
Twelve Peers, 234 ff., 241, 244, 247
Twins, 98 ff.
Tyolet, 128

Uggeri il Danese, 109 n.
Uncle and Nephew, 143
Unsophisticated Youth, 124, 128 ff.
Uriah Letter, 63, 179, 235
Ursino le Navarin, 171 n.

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Valentin, 142 ff.
Valentine, St., 142
Valentine and Orson (English):
— editions and allusions, 284 ff.
— specimen of text, 281 ff.
— translator: *see* Watson
Valentine and Ursine (Percy's ballad), 99 n., 142 n., 291
Valentin et Orson:
— analysis (brief), 158 ff.
— analysis (detailed) and sources, 164–265
— comparison with *Valentin und Namelos*, 4 ff., 157 ff.
— date of composition, 239, 248 f.
— editions in languages other than English, 3 n.
— first edition described, 156 ff.
— relation to *Valentin und Namelos*, 5 ff.
— specimen of text, 280 f.
— summary of sources, 265 ff.
Valentin und Namelos:
— analysis, 13 ff.
— classification of the episodes, 21 ff.
— comparison with *Valentin et Orson*, 4 ff., 157 ff.
— date of French original, 5
— Dutch version (N), 5, 7 n., 9 f., 11 f., 15, 17, 19, 20, 21, 54 n., 74 ff., 82, 127, 134, 136 ff., 155
— editions, 10 f.
— Greek names in, 58
— MHG. version (B), 9, 10, 12, 15, 17, 18 n., 19, 20, 30 n., 66, 125, 134 n., 151, 155
— MLG. version, 8 f., 10, 13 ff.
— relationship of versions, 11 ff., 141, 155
— relation to *Valentin et Orson*, 5 ff.
— sources, 28–151; summary, 151 ff.
— Swedish version (Sw), 9, 10
— versions and MSS., 8 ff.
Valerius Maximus, 191
Vaughan, Kate, 297
Vendôme, Count of, 248
Vengeance Raguidel, 61 n., 82 f., 85 ff., 89 f., 95 f., 120 n., 197 n., 209, 230
Vengeance Rioul, 235 n.
Viaggio di Carlo Magno, 173 n., 219, 238, 245 f.
Vie de S. Gilles, 54 n.
Vilain, 114, 125 ff., 180
Villon, 188 n.
Vincent de Beauvais, 76 n., 171 n.
Violette, Roman de la, 73 f., 77, 78, 79, 132 n., 135 n., 175
Virgil, 196 n., 207 ff.
Virgin Mary, miracles of, 72, 74, 76 n., 92 n., 193 n.
Vision of heaven and hell, 264 f.
Vita Merlini, 116 n., 121, 122 n.
Vivien de Monbranc, 188
Vœux du Paon, 181

Waldef, 168 n.
Walewein, 84 n.
War, religious, 229
Warning Shepherd, 70
War of the Public Weal, 238
Washing, 80 ff.
Watson, Henry, 285 f., 289
Whitman, Walt, 297
Wigalois, 119 n., 128
Wild Herdsman, 114, 118 n., 121 n.
Wild Man, 110 ff., 113 ff., 179
Willame, 125, 184
William of Malmesbury, 91 n., 205 ff., 214, 230 n.
William of Newburgh, 211
William of Palerne, 69 n.
William of Paris, 123
Wolf, Suckling, 97, 102, 103 n.
Wolf-Children, 104 n., 116 n.

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Wolfdietrich, 49 n., 104 n., 172 n.
Wood-spirit, 114 ff.
Worde, Wynkyn de, 285 f.
Wound-healing Balm, 186 f.
Wound-healing Drink, 148, 184
Wylie, Elinor, 298

Ysaie le Triste, 136
Yvain, 78 n., 107, 116 n., 131, 132 n.

Zimmerische Chronik, 219 n., 231

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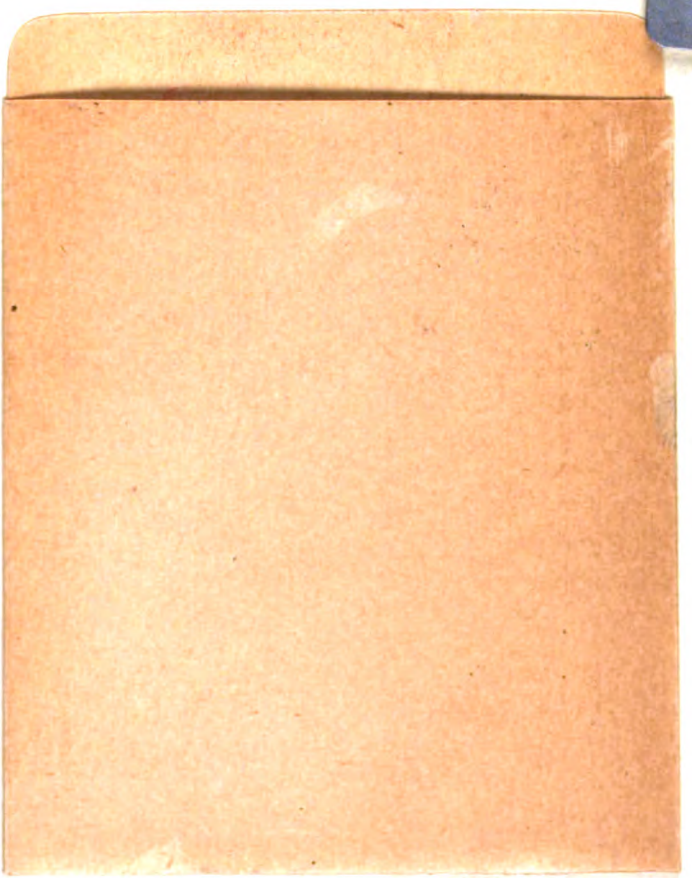

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